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EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY

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W. H. & C. 1844

Dr. Pusey preaching the "condemned" Sermon,
from a Sketch by the Rev. Edward Kilvert

HECCLE.
P.

Life of
Edward Bouverie Pusey ²

DOCTOR OF DIVINITY
CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH; REGIUS PROFESSOR OF
HEBREW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

BY

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THE LIFE
OF
EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY

CHAPTER XIX.

ROMAN CONTROVERSY AND CHARGES OF ROMANIZING—
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—LETTER TO BISHOP BAGOT.

1836-1837.

IT was in the year 1836 that the controversy on the subject of the claims and position of the Roman Catholic Church again emerged. That such a renewal of ancient strife should take place was inevitable. It was impossible to appeal to Church principles, as the Tractarians had appealed to them in controversy with Latitudinarian and Puritan forms of thought, without being asked the question, How far do you mean to go? For those Church principles were in the main common ground between the Roman and the English Churches. 'We agree with Rome,' said Keble, 'about our major premisses, our differences are about the minor.' This amount of agreement placed the Tractarians between two fires: they were reproached from one quarter with treachery,

from another with inconsistency; and they had to show, as well as they could, that they were neither inconsistent nor treacherous; that abstract logic has to take account of the checks which are imposed on it by history; and that the real strength of a position is not to be measured by the assaults to which it may be apparently exposed at the hands of popular controversialists.

In the earlier days of the Movement nothing was heard of the Roman question.

'Romanism,' wrote Pusey, 'in our earlier days, was scarcely heard of among us. . . . It was apparently at a low ebb, and partook of the general listlessness which crept over the Church during the last century. It seemed to present but the skeleton of the right practices which it retained, and helped by its neglect of their spirit to cast reproach upon them. The writer of a work then popular¹ would even speak of it as extinct among us².' 'There was in our younger days no visible Church to which to attach ourselves except our own. The Roman communion had in this country but her few scattered sheep, who had adhered to her since the times of Queen Elizabeth. She was herself asleep, and scarcely maintained herself, much less was such as to attract others³.'

The change which had taken place was not due only or chiefly to the Church revival at Oxford.

'The Roman Church also has, in some countries certainly, partaken of the same refreshing dew as ourselves: the same Hand which has touched us and bid our sleeping Church, Awake, Arise, has reached her also. Our Lord seems to be awakening the several portions of His Church, and even those bodies which have not yet the organization of a Church, at once⁴.'

But if the revival of religious activity in the Roman Church was independent of anything in the English, it was stimulated and given a new direction by the publication of the Oxford Tracts. They at once roused its hopes and provoked its hostility, and the new situation which was thus created demanded the serious attention of their authors.

'The controversy with the Romanists,' wrote Newman in January,

¹ Father Clement.

² 'Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury,' by Rev. E. B.

Pusey, D.D. Oxford, 1842, 3rd ed., p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

1836, 'has overtaken us "like a summer's cloud." We find ourselves in various parts of the country preparing for it. Yet when we look back we cannot trace the steps by which we arrived at our present position. We do not recollect what our feelings were this time last year on the subject—what was the state of our apprehensions and anticipations. All we know is that here we are, from long security, ignorant why we are not Roman Catholics; and they, on the other hand, are said to be spreading and strengthening on all sides of us, vaunting of their success, real or apparent, and taunting us with our inability to argue with them¹.'

Towards the summer of 1835 Newman had been disposed, as has been already mentioned, to bring the 'Tracts for the Times' to a close. Pusey had encouraged him, for several reasons, to continue them. One was the urgency of the 'Popish controversy.' It was needed in present circumstances, and it would prevent a one-sided estimate of their position and aims. 'With the Popish question one might get at all the Low Church: on others the High Church are afraid of us.'

Accordingly — coincidentally with the struggle against Hampden's Latitudinarianism — a campaign was opened against Roman Catholicism. The third volume of the 'Tracts for the Times' begins with two tracts 'against Romanism.' The *British Magazine* offered to its readers the striking and original papers entitled 'Home Thoughts abroad,' from Newman's pen. And throughout 1836 Newman was hard at work upon his 'Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church,' which contrast the Anglican position so vividly with that of Romanism on the one side and popular Protestantism on the other.

'It is plain,' he writes, 'that at the end of 1835 or beginning of 1836 I had the whole state of the question before me, on which, to my mind, the decision between the Churches depended².'

Many other symptoms of the same kind of activity were by no means wanting³.

¹ 'Tracts for the Times,' No. 71, p. 1 (dated Feast of the Circumcision, 1836).

² 'Apologia' (ed. 1880), p. 111.

³ See *Brit. Mag.* vols. ix. and x., passim.

Pusey had enough on his hands, but he too projected a work on the same lines as Newman's 'Prophetical Office of the Church.'

'I had made some progress,' he writes to Harrison, 'in some theses on Catholic and Church of England truths, and ultra-Protestant and Romanist errors, on the Church and Sacraments; and I had written a long letter to Rose on the new mode¹ of administering the Lord's Supper, and lost both.'

The letter to Rose was rewritten, but Pusey found no time to reproduce and continue the first-mentioned and more important work.

The reanimation of the Church of Rome in England was quickened in no small degree by the arrival of a divine whose accomplishments and ability would have secured influence and prominence in any age of the Roman Church. Dr. Wiseman had returned to England, and had delivered in London his 'Lectures on the principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church².' We know, on good authority, that those lectures made a considerable impression, and not only among Roman Catholics³. Tyler, who was Vicar of St. Giles'-in-the-Fields, brought Wiseman's lectures under Pusey's notice; and Pusey handed the implied commission on to Newman.

E. B. P. TO THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[August], 1836.

We seem to be fallen into Jeremiah's days. 'Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth.' Yet I think that if your acquaintance with Dr. Wiseman does not prevent it, a controversy with him would do much good. As far as I know, most of our old controversy with Rome was carried on upon wrong (Genevan) principles: it would be

¹ He refers to 'the practice of pronouncing the words once only to those assembled round the altar, and then giving the elements in silence to each individual.' Pusey had probably observed this irreverent Puritan habit in Clapham Church, where he communicated on Sunday, July 10, 1836, while

staying with Rev. B. Harrison's father. Pusey rewrote the lost letter to Rose, and after some delay it was published with the signature 'Canonicus' in the *British Magazine* for Nov. 1836, vol. x. p. 531.

² London, Booker, 1836.

³ 'Apologia' (ed. 1880), p. 64.

a good thing to have one on the whole subject on right principles: it would bring out those principles: people would see that Catholic principles can be maintained against Popish, and would receive them the rather because they are on their own side. It seems, in all ways, a good opening; so I send you Tyler's invitation to war terminated by his prayer for peace 'in his days.'

I have directed my banker to put £20 to your account, that you may have one scruple the less, whenever you think it right to take your B.D. degree¹: if you do not take it now it may accumulate until you are grand-compounder. Bishop Lloyd used to hold that the Divinity Professor was not singled out to present, but that any D.D. might do it. I send you my hood, because, *mutatis mutandis*, I should have liked yours. Do not be in a hurry to set free the said £20, simply because it is shut up.

Ever your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

They used to do the like things of yore, so I am only falling back on old times.

Newman, whose head was at the time full of the subject, reviewed Wiseman in an article which is not the least able of his polemical efforts on either side in the great controversy².

Pusey had on his part a department of the general question assigned to him by circumstances. Dr. Dickinson, the Orange author of 'A Pastoral Epistle from His Holiness the Pope to the writers of the Tracts for the Times,' had

'through want of acquaintance with antiquity' been led to 'confound the early practice of commemorating God's departed servants at the Holy Communion, and praying for their increased bliss and fuller admission to the beatific vision, with the modern abuse of Masses for the Dead and the doctrine of Purgatory³.'

Dr. Dickinson was referring to Tract No. 72, containing 'Archbishop Ussher on Prayers for the Dead,' which had appeared in the early part of the year. Pusey had himself hesitated as to the publication of this tract.

¹ Card. Newman has written on this letter, 'I took my B.D. degree Oct. 27, 1836.'

² *Brit. Crit.*, Oct. 1836, art. 'Dr.

Wiseman's Lectures on the Catholic Church,' vol. xx. pp. 373-403.

³ 'An Earnest Remonstrance, &c.,' p. 19.

E. B. P. TO THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[Undated, but before Nov. 29, 1835.]

I feel much perplexed about mentioning the subject of Prayer for the Dead: First, there is not the same occasion for bringing it forward as forgotten points of doctrine of our Church, i.e. no necessity laid upon us, as ministers of the Church. (2) It might hinder other important views being received. (3) It, perhaps, more than any other, would bring down the outcry, not only of the Ultra-Protestants, but of most Anti-Catholics; the Tyler party and all who having been brought up in Protestantism have not gone back to the Fathers, or been led back by feeling, would think it sin. You only can answer to yourself the question, whether this outcry might not do yourself harm as the object of it; at least, it has a tendency to produce excitement, &c., not salutary (in myself). (4) In the present day, there might be much abuse of the doctrine, on account of persons' lax notions of sin, repentance, the terms of acceptance. If I inserted the passage I should accompany it with a protest against the laxity of the present day, which seems to think it scarcely possible that any can miss of Heaven.

I am unfit to decide: my first bias was against it; my second an unwillingness to hinder it, on the ground of my first note, and also because, if introduced hereafter, when persons might be riper, it might look like an afterthought. My abiding feeling doubts as to its expediency, but I have a conviction of my own inability to decide, knowing and seeing so little of people's sentiments. Thanks for this morning's call. I am still free from cough, and hope to be kept so.

When, however, the tract had been written, and Pusey had had time to go through it, he saw reason to change his mind.

E. B. P. TO THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Christ Church, Nov. 29, [1835].

I have read this through again with great satisfaction: if I part with any it is with reluctance, and I should part with as little as possible, thinking the restoration of the whole of the old views a gain, and that it is hard to go on teaching men to go counter to their natural feelings and impulses, and that they should not pray to God when they fain would, i.e. when He suggests to them so to do. I do not like recommending that it should be struck out: it is written: I was at first inclined to think it to be parted with as giving a handle; but since there *are* so many ripe for it, and to whom it would be a blessing, I should be unwilling to keep it back: only you might distinguish more

fully between the Romish abuse and the primitive use. I gradually lean more and more towards retaining it.

When then Dr. Dickinson, in his notorious 'Pope's Pastoral Epistle,' attacked the Oxford writers with advocating prayers for the dead, Pusey himself took up the defence. The few pages¹ in which he accounts for the omissions of such prayers from the English Liturgy, while insisting, not merely that they are lawful, but a duty which charity owes to the departed, are among the most careful that he has written. The reason which may have determined the Edwardian reformers to abandon their public use is no longer valid; and if antiquity is to count for anything as an interpreter of the mind of Scripture, they cannot be set aside as of no account in a practical Christian life. They have the sanction of some of the highest names in Anglican divinity; and they satisfy some of the best and finest aspirations of the human heart.

Not long after Pusey had occasion to insist on the negative side of his position in this matter. Newman had sent him the MS. of his tract on Purgatory², which was suggested by the earlier tract on Prayers for the Dead from Archbishop Ussher.

The tract did not meet with Pusey's approval, and he wrote his mind with a plainness unusual in him when writing to one whom he loved and trusted so greatly.

E. B. P. TO THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Thursday night.

I have marked such passages as I think would most startle people; and made some notes which might soften the effect. But, somehow, your way of writing against the Romanists is so different from what people are accustomed to, that it will take much pains not to shock them; you seem to take lower ground in the first instance than you do at the end, and so people are *pre*-disposed against you; and what comes at last, though decisive, hardly seems to come

¹ 'Earnest Remonstrance, &c.,' pp. 18-28.

² 'Tracts for the Times,' No. 79.

heartily, because it has not come before, but comes laggardly. As if you were reluctant to say that the Romanists are in the wrong, although at the end truth compels you to do so! . . . In such an apology, as it were, for the theory of Purgatory, something stronger against the practice is the more needed. . . A few sentences would suffice; for they might give a colouring to the whole, which it now wants. . . I think it might be done without trouble if you would write some few lines, as you have elsewhere, on the *practical* effects of Purgatory.

This is the first indication of a divergence between Pusey and Newman. It was suspected at the time by neither of them. Newman may well have written the introduction to Tract No. 79 in consequence of this letter. It is in the main what Pusey wanted, namely, 'a few lines on the *practical* effects of Purgatory.' The following passage describes accurately enough the balance of Newman's mind at that time.

'Since,' he writes, 'we are in no danger of becoming Romanists, and may bear to be dispassionate, and, I may say, philosophical, in our treatment of their errors, some passages in the following account of Purgatory are more calmly written than would satisfy those who were engaged with a victorious enemy at their doors. Yet, whoever be our opponent, Papist or Latitudinarian, it does not seem to be wrong to be as candid and conceding as justice and charity allow us¹.'

No precautions, however, on Pusey's part could silence the charge of Romanizing which was being brought against the writers of the Tracts by Puritans as well as by Latitudinarians. Pusey always had a much warmer feeling for the former than for the latter class of opponents. As he wrote in 1865:—

'Ever since I knew them (which was not in my earliest years) I have loved those who are called "Evangelicals." I loved them because they loved our Lord. I loved them for their zeal for souls. I often thought them narrow, yet I was often drawn to individuals among them more than to others who held truths in common with myself, which the Evangelicals did not hold, at least explicitly².'

Accordingly when in September 1836 he received some

¹ 'Tracts for the Times,' No. 79, p. 3.

² 'Eirenicon,' Pt. I. p. 4.

very violent letters from a worthy clergyman of this description, he answered them at great length, but without producing any effect. The clergyman told him that it was the *Record* which had guided him to form so unfavourable an opinion of Pusey and his friends. Could not something be done, if Pusey were only to appeal to the wisdom and justice of the *Record*?

'I send you,' Pusey writes to Newman, 'a letter to the *Record*. If they put it in, it will obtain us a hearing among the readers of the *Record*: if not, I shall send it to the *British Magazine*.' 'I almost question,' answered Newman, 'the *pro dignitate* of your corresponding with the *Record*.'

Pusey then forwarded to Newman the letter of his clerical correspondent 'as a specimen of the times and of the effects of the *Record*.' 'I have,' he added, 'written a rather long answer.' Newman replied:—

Sept. 7, 1836.

'I am not pleased at your corresponding with the *Record*. Your paper is so good and valuable that some use must be made of it: but I altogether protest against the *Record*. Again, I am not for answering all misrepresentations. Things come right in a little while, if we let them take their course. Opportunities arise. The more I think of it, the more I am against your writing to the *Record*. You do the editor, &c. harm, by making him a tribunal, and you make it seem as if you were hurt and touchy. At present it strikes me I would alter it into the third person, whatever I did with it. Sometimes I may go into extremes; but I like leaving events to justify one.'

Newman himself had written to the *British Magazine* about the 'Lyra Apostolica,' when the *Record* had interpreted it as reflecting upon Dr. Chalmers, and those who looked up to him might be hurt. A similar motive had led him to write to the papers when he declined to marry a parishioner who had not been baptized. But he would not write simply to defend himself or his writings.

Sept. 7, 1836.

'I agree,' replied Pusey, 'altogether with your criticisms: I was surprised to find the paper so apologetic; I have struck out every word of apology, and everything, as I thought, which could look like

an appeal to the *Record* (even to the words "writer in *your* paper"), so that now, if they were to insert it, it is at most an "appeal to the *clerical* readers of the *Record*." I need not give you the trouble of looking through all this interlining, the first sentence will show you the character of its new dress.

'It seemed to me an object to get at the readers of the *Record*, if one could, most of whom, I suppose, one cannot get at but through the *Record*. Manning says they are doing mischief: my letter from — confirms it; perhaps, writing with my name, I might come into contact privately with some of them. At all events, it will make some people see what right principles are, who have perhaps never seen them except through the distorting lens of the *Record*.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Sept. 8, 1836.

'Take care,' rejoined Newman, 'you are not knocked up. I am so afraid these various letters will overset you. You must not mind a letter like Mr. —'s; I have some idea I have heard of him as a ranting, self-confident man. His letter shows him to have no mean opinion of himself. Depend upon it, whatever you said in explanation, a certain number of persons will misunderstand you, and *not* those whom you would feel distressed about. They, though perplexed for a time, will in time understand you, and the Truth. "The wise shall understand." By going through evil report we attain good report. I do not see why you should not answer Mr. —'s immodest letter, as far as the thing itself goes. But I see many reasons, as far as your health goes. . . . You will suffer for it afterwards.'

But, after all, the *Record* might not insert what it had cost Pusey much to write. A party newspaper inserts or rejects communications without much regard to the justice of the case, but as the prejudices of its readers or the theory it upholds for truth may seem to require.

'From what I have since heard, the *Record*,' wrote Newman, 'will not put anything in. I doubt if you sent it yourself it would do more than say in the notices to correspondents, "We have received Dr. Pusey's letter, but it does not alter our opinion: however, we shall keep it by us, &c."'; or "We respectfully inform Dr. Pusey that our paper is not intended as an arena, &c." I would still wait, were I you, and see what comes of it.'

But if Newman thought that Pusey had better not defend himself in the columns of the *Record*, he was very willing to defend Pusey. The *Christian Observer*

had attacked the tract on Baptism. Dr. Pusey, it said, ought to lecture at Maynooth or the Vatican. He had taught that while the patriarchs of the Old Testament were not regenerate persons, Voltaire, as being baptized, was regenerate. He had denied that God conveys grace only through the instrumentality of the mental energies; holding that infants might be baptized, or even communicate, with possible spiritual advantages. He had taught that the Sacraments are the appointed instruments of justification.

'He may,' it continued, 'construe some of the offices of the Church after his own manner; but what does he do with the Articles and Homilies? We have often asked this question in private, but could never get an answer. Will any approver of the Oxford Tracts answer it in print?'

It must suffice to refer to Newman's brilliant answer to this challenge which is contained in the 82nd Tract¹. The writer in the *Observer* had misunderstood Pusey when he had not misquoted him; although as to the worth and effect of the Christian Sacraments, and their relation to justification, there was a very wide gap between Pusey and the *Christian Observer*. But the most interesting part of the paper is that in which Newman meets the challenge thrown out to Pusey. He denies that he has subscribed the Homilies or anything more than a certain statement about them. He points out that they contained a great deal of language which no consistent Low Churchman could possibly accept. He insists that the Articles may fairly be interpreted in more ways than one—thus foreshadowing the argument of Tract 90. The paper is full of interest, both in itself and as illustrating the history of its author's mind; here it is only referred to as exhibiting the defensive attitude which the Tract-writers already had to assume in respect of the charge of Romanizing. But as yet there was no more doubt in Newman's mind than in Pusey's of the strength and worth of the Anglican

¹ 'Letter to a Magazine on the subject of Dr. Pusey's Tract on Baptism.'

position, whatever Puritanism or Romanism might say about it.

At the beginning of 1837 attacks upon the Movement became frequent.

'I hear,' writes Mr. Dodsworth on January 6, 1837, 'that there was a most violent and abusive attack on us at a meeting of clergy at Islington yesterday, and great alarm expressed at the spread of High Church principles, which they did not scruple to denounce as heretical. This looks well for the cause, but is sad for them.'

'Nothing,' wrote Newman in commenting on this, 'inspires me with greater hope for our cause, or rather brings home to me the fact that we are on the whole right, and they on the whole wrong.'

At this period too we find the name of the Rev. C. P. Golightly for the first time among the opponents of the Movement. Mr. Golightly was a kind-hearted and in his way an earnest man, if somewhat self-important. He had taken a warm part in the Hampden controversy, and against Hampden: he was now gossiping all over Oxford about some of his old allies—not Pusey himself—in a way which, to say the least, did not help him or others to understand them. Pusey, not having been himself attacked, with characteristic directness wrote to Golightly what the latter called 'a severe scolding,' and 'warned him against the dangerous occupation of talking over or against people.' Golightly was much ruffled; Pusey, he held, had not been justified in thus writing, either by seniority, or station, or by the terms of their acquaintance. The correspondence was prolonged, as such correspondences are, without leading to any valuable result. Golightly from this time ranged himself in conscious, and, it must be added, increasingly bitter opposition to the Oxford leaders.

Another less considerable opponent who now declared himself was the Rev. Peter Maurice, Chaplain of New College.

'The walls of Oxford,' wrote Pusey to Rev. B. Harrison on Easter Day, 1837, 'have been placarded for the last week with "Popery of Oxford," and its citizens have been edified with the exhibition of

Newman's and my name as Papists—all done by Rev. P. Maurice, of New College, author of "Popery in Oxford." I have not seen the placard or the pamphlet. . . . N. only hopes that no one of our friends will answer it, for we ought not to stand upon the defensive.'

An opponent of a very different order was the Venerable W. Spooner, Archdeacon of Coventry, who, in the spring of 1837, when charging the clergy of his archdeaconry, had warned the clergy against the Tracts in energetic terms. Mr. Spooner's early associations had been with the Evangelical party; and he had studiously held aloof from the Oxford Movement. But he was an uncle of the Wilberforces, and was already acquainted with Pusey. The elevation, sincerity, and mildness of the Archdeacon's character secured for his judgment a deserved weight with all good men; but his Charge is principally noticeable as the first expression of official condemnation which the Oxford writers had incurred. Upon receiving the Charge, Pusey addressed to the Archdeacon a respectful remonstrance in a letter of which the following is the central passage:—

E. B. P. TO ARCHDEACON SPOONER.

Oxford, June 8, 1837.

. . . We are conscious of no intention but that of recalling to the minds of such of our brethren as we may forgotten truths; we wish to introduce no new doctrines, we appeal (as for instance in the *Catena*) to standard divines of our own Church, as well as to the Fathers; we do not wish to supersede, but to uphold the authority of our Church, by pointing out its agreement with the primitive Catholic Church. We teach nothing but what has been taught before us. Some things which we have insisted on, as Fasting and Ember-days, have found their way even into the pages of those who censure us. Neither do we wish to give any of these things an undue (and so injurious) prominence; if, indeed, we think any point neglected, and so that it is useful to the Church to write on it, we must write on that subject mainly, for one cannot bring the whole fulness of theology into each tract. But it is not part of our system; and I might refer you to Mr. Newman's three volumes of sermons, to show that we do not attach ourselves exclusively to a portion of Christian truth.

The Archdeacon replied with characteristic courtesy. He disclaimed any intention of imputing any dishonesty of motive or intention to the writers of the Tracts. He entertained a high respect for their character and attainments. But he sincerely believed that

‘the respectable and learned authors of those Tracts were, unawares to themselves, injuring the pure and scriptural doctrines of the Protestant Faith.’

Another critic who added largely to Pusey’s correspondence at this time was the Rev. George Townsend, Canon of Durham. Relying upon the accuracy of the Rev. P. Maurice’s pamphlet, and an article in the *Christian Observer* and ‘private information,’ he had addressed the clergy of the Peculiar of North Allerton and Allertonshire in the Province of York on the subject of new practices—not doctrines—that were growing up among the adherents of the Oxford school. With great labour, and at the cost of an immense expenditure of time, Pusey convinced him that he had been misled by the authorities on which he depended and the exaggerated reports which he had heard. But the Charge served to swell the gathering volume of unintelligent protest; and the Bishops, or at least Bishop Bagot, began to receive those anonymous denunciations of men and opinions which are inevitable in such circumstances. At last Bishop Bagot wrote to Pusey, enclosing at least one composition of the kind, and begging him to explain how matters really stood. Pusey’s letter, the substance of which appeared in an expanded form some months afterwards, is interesting historically as well as on personal grounds:—

E. B. P. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

September 26, 1837.

As they have troubled your lordship with those strange statements of what some of the clergy in Oxford are supposed to have done, it seems due from us to inform your lordship what the real state of the case is.

The reports began with a Mr. Maurice, a chaplain of New College, who seems a very excited and vain and half-bewildered person, who seems to think that he is called by God to oppose what he calls the

Popery of Oxford. He published a heavy pamphlet, which would have died a natural death had not the *Christian Observer* wished to have a blow at Mr. Newman and the 'High Church,' and so taken it up though with a sort of protest against identifying itself with Mr. Maurice's language; and thence, I am sorry to say, Mr. Townsend, Prebendary of Durham, has repeated it in a 'Charge to the Clergy of the Peculiar of N. Allerton and Allertonshire.'

The charges made have been 'needless bowings, unusual attitudes in prayers, the addition of a peculiar kind of cross to the surplice, and the placing the Bread and Wine on a small additional table near the Lord's Table or Altar.' These are, at least, what Mr. Townsend repeats.

With regard to the 'needless bowings,' I cannot imagine the origin of the report: there have been no bowings, except at the Name of our Lord.

The 'unusual attitudes in prayer,' I suppose, refer to the new chapel at Littlemore, where there is, as in old times, an eagle instead of reading-desk, and the minister during the prayers kneels towards the East, the same way as the congregation, turning to the congregation in the parts addressed to them in the way recommended by Bp. Sparrow in his 'Rationale of the Common Prayer,' and which Bp. S. doubts not is implied by our rubric before the *Te Deum*, which speaks of the minister's '*turning* himself as he may best be heard,' which implies, he says, that before, he was turned some other way. And he speaks of this practice as still existing about his time. Mr. Newman does the same in his Morning Daily Service in the chancel of St. Mary's, when he has a congregation in many respects different from that which attends the Sunday Service; but in the Sunday Service he has introduced no change whatever. In the Daily Service, being a new service to a new congregation, he thought himself free to follow what seemed to him the meaning of our rubric, according, as it does, with primitive usage and that of our own Church, sanctioned by Bp. Sparrow (whose comment on the rubric has been reprinted by Bp. Mant in the *Christian Knowledge Common Prayer-book*) and by the practice in Cathedrals in the Litany and Ordination Services, as your lordship well knows.

The 'additional cross' was, as I mentioned to your lordship, worn by one individual only; but I had not time to explain that this was no device of his own, but according to one interpretation of the rubric prefixed to the Morning Service about the 'Ornaments of the Church and the Minister' being 'the same as in the 2nd year of Edw. VI.' The scarf there directed to be worn had crosses on it. I saw the scarf in question: it was a very narrow one, about three inches I think, with two very unpretending crosses at the two ends, and was meant to be exactly the same as that prescribed in Edward VIth's time, and, as some think, enjoined still. For myself, though the ornaments in

Edward Vith's time were much handsomer than those now in use (especially the Bishop's is very beautiful), yet I am content with that explanation of the rubric which dispenses with our observing it ; we have too much to do to keep sound doctrine and the privileges of the Church to be able to afford to go into the question about dresses. Still, as Bp. Cosin and others maintain the opinion that this rubric is binding, I did not think it worth while to advise the young clergyman who wore the one in question against it, further than giving him the general advice not to let his attention be distracted by these things from others of more moment. A rigid adherence to the rubric cannot, in its own nature, lead to extravagance, and it seemed a very safe way for the exuberance of youth to vent itself in. I have said the more because he was a pupil of my own ; he was a very active and energetic man, and likely to make a very good parish priest, but he has now left Oxford. While here he officiated occasionally at St. Thomas', there *only*, and Mr. Newman did not know him. Two other individuals wore the same scarf, without the crosses, thinking it safer. Mr. Newman and myself were not acquainted with them when they began the practice. It was in Magdalen College Chapel.

With regard to the remaining charge I need not say anything to your lordship. The innovation clearly is with those who allow the Bread and Wine to be placed upon the Altar by clerks or sextons ; only I would say that the 'small additional table' has not been unnecessarily introduced. In St. Mary's and St. Aldate's the Elements have been placed in a recess already existing near the Altar ; in St. Michael's the old custom has never been disused ; in St. Paul's and Littlemore only, there being no other provision, since the Elements must be placed somewhere, a small neat table has been used as being the more decent way.

I have taken up much of your lordship's time by this long explanation, but I was vexed that your lordship should be troubled by complaints against any friend or acquaintance of mine ; it is, in fact, only a side-blow at sound principles, because it is easier to talk about 'dresses' and 'innovations' than to meet arguments.

I have written to Mr. Townsend, stating to him the case and requesting him to correct his misstatements, and, if he does not, purpose to send the letter to the *British Magazine*, and so I hope that your lordship will not be further troubled in consequence of these exaggerations. In the meantime, if this explanation can be used in any way to prevent any further annoyance, your lordship will of course make any use of it.

Mr. Newman as well as myself much regrets that these idle reports have caused these explanations to be made to your lordship. We would have contradicted them sooner had there seemed any sufficient reason, such as this. I join myself, because these papers always join Mr. Newman and myself, although we maintain no one doctrine or

practice which has not the sanction of the great divines of our Church.

Begging your lordship to excuse the length of this letter,

I have the honour to remain,

Your lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

These attacks and suspicions were but a foretaste of what was to come on a larger scale. But as yet nothing had occurred to warrant mistrust of the Movement by any large body of Churchmen, or discouragement on the part of its adherents.

CHAPTER XX.

PROGRESS—S. P. C. K. COMMITTEES—KEBLE'S SERMONS—
VISIT TO GUERNSEY—FIFTH OF NOVEMBER SERMON
—TRACT ON THE HOLY EUCHARIST—MISSIONARY
EXHIBITIONS—COLLEGES OF CLERGY FOR LARGE
TOWNS—DR. HOOK AND THE TRACTS—HARRISON,
CHAPLAIN TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

1837-1838.

THE years that immediately followed the Hampden controversy were not characterized by any striking outward incident, nor by any specially urgent controversy. It was a time seemingly of steady and deepening progress. The slighter tracts had ceased, and had made way for more solid treatises, appealing not so much *ad populum*, but, as was said, *ad scholas* and *ad clerum*. It was a time now not only of writing but of preaching: it was a time to drive home to the heart and conscience principles which had been more or less intellectually accepted. Thus there was emerging, besides Newman's Parochial Sermons, the series of Plain Sermons by contributors to 'Tracts for the Times.' Pusey himself was not only preaching in various places, but pressing on Keble the duty that lay on him also to publish his sermons. He was, on the one hand, feeling after the idea of Colleges of Clergy for work in the large cities; on the other he was, either by conversation or correspondence, dealing with individuals who had been powerfully affected by their acceptance of Church principles. He was beginning to exercise a general direction in the difficult

questions that these principles sometimes raised. In fact the Movement was now becoming a matter not only of theoretical principles, but of practical and devotional life.

Not that there was any cessation of activity in matters of controversial interest. To touch on minor points: Pusey himself had a long correspondence with the Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on the subject of publishing the Apocrypha in translations of the Bible issued by the Society. The uncritical and uncatholic exaggeration of the admitted distinction between the canonical books and those subordinately inspired works, which form so valuable a link between the Old and New Testaments, was tending to ban the Apocrypha altogether in the S. P. C. K.: it had succeeded in doing so in the British and Foreign Bible Society. Pusey went twice to London to bring forward resolutions on the subject at meetings of the Foreign Translation Committee. He was somewhat hopeful after the first meeting.

‘The business,’ he wrote, ‘has been on the whole satisfactory, and the Dean of Chichester, who was rather on the other side, said that the discussion would do them a great deal of good. None of my resolutions were exactly carried; but two were, which will do much good.’

Another topic of controversy at the Translation Committee was a proposed Hebrew Prayer-book. The translation of the words ‘declare and pronounce’ in the daily Absolution did not satisfy Pusey, and he also objected to the proposed rendering of the Christmas collect.

‘July 3, 1837.

‘I am out of the Translation Committee, I believe. All my proposals failed, and the language held on both occasions was so schismatic, and the result . . . will be so directly such, that I could belong to it no longer. So I have written to one of the bishops to resign my appointment, which was a demi-official one.’

He had previously expressed anxiety with regard to the proposed translation of the Prayer-book into Greek and Arabic, and writes as follows:—

E. B. P. TO REV. HENRY JOHN ROSE.

Christ Church, December 16, 1836.

Will you be so kind as to ask your brother what the S. P. C. K. mean by publishing our Prayer-book in Greek and Arabic? I do not want to make a disturbance unnecessarily, but it seems to me a strange proceeding. If it be to create among them a respect for our Church, this is well, although perhaps scarcely the object we should choose, when we have so many colonies to look to; but if it be with any view of supplementing the Greek Liturgy, I think it requires a most serious protest. What have we to do with interfering with the Greek Church, or to disturb Liturgies of which large ingredients at least are as, or more, Apostolic than our own? We have passed through the fire, and although we may bless God that, although scorched, we have escaped vitally unharmed, what have we to do to set up ourselves as models for all Churches? Are we to be Anti-Romanist Popes, and prescribe rites and liturgies contrary to those which the Eastern Christians have received from their Fathers? Certainly, from what I have seen, I should be very sorry to see the Grecian services expelled by ours. First, because they are hereditary; (2) they are longer, and so a protest against the listlessness of those who would shorten ours; (3) they have ancient rites which, on whatever ground, we have relinquished (as Exorcism before Baptism, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost at the Eucharist), or glossed over (as the Oblation).

Then, too, have we not enough to do without meddling with the Christians of the East? Let us, if it be a work of charity, reprint their Liturgies, that they may use the devotions of their own Church better. But before we attempt a crusade (I would not profane the word), rather, before we go out of our way to thrust our own Liturgy upon persons who ask not for it, let us at least look to those who ask for it. Let us assist (where there must be much need) our North American colonies, or the East Indies, or there are at least seven languages in West India into which we are called upon to translate it. To the heathen or the Jew our Liturgy may often prepare the way better than the Bible, because it bears evidence of a Christian Church, who think and feel as Christians, whereas the Bible often appears nothing but our condemnation.

An Arabic Prayer-book in Hebrew characters would be very useful for the Jews, of whom those in North Africa are of the better sort; or, again, it might be useful to the Mohammedans, but let us not 'stretch ourselves beyond our measure,' or 'boast ourselves in another man's line of things made ready to our hands.'

Altogether the Church Societies look very miserably; it is like those who boast of emptying the meeting-house by turning the Church into one. The extracts from correspondence of the S. P. G. one might have mistaken for a Church Missionary Report. This publication of private anecdotes must be very pernicious to those who have to furnish

them, those who out of curiosity read them, and those who are to be the subjects of them. Societies ought not to think it part of their office to furnish a certain quantity of anecdote in order to raise money.

But, as has been said, preaching was one of the chief methods of working at this period; and Newman was as urgent as Pusey that some of Keble's sermons should be published. Keble's low estimate of the value of any of his own productions made him very unwilling to contribute anything at all. Hence the subjoined letter:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

March 20, 1837.

Newman's and my continual wish is, 'Would one had 100 heads and 100 hands'; so much to be done and so few to do it: and what are you doing, our father in the faith, perhaps Newman's elder brother only now? 'More, Master P., than they who all their life long have been "multa et praeclara minantes" and realized nothing.' True, but it is because almost all one's plans have been ill-devised or ill-matured, and cracked in the furnace, and will carry no water,—it is just for this perhaps that one looks the more anxiously to those who have more skill or have formed themselves more carefully. So now let me repeat my question with all deference, 'What are you doing?' Where are Psalms 50, &c., and how are the rest going on, and why do they tarry? Where are the sermons? 'But N. plucked these.' Yes, but because N. asked for the new ones, and you sent him some old ones, and he plucked these and asked again for the new ones: are we not to have them? We all want them. People will read sermons who will read nothing else, and if their reading is not altogether free from the infection of criticizing, yet it is freer than anything else. They carry some devotion into their reading, and so, we may hope, will carry some good away with them; besides, the very reading of sermons is part of an inherited religion. Then, too, it is not fair to let Newman bear the whole brunt alone, as if his theology were something peculiar, or, as they call it, the New-mania. Isaac Williams and Copeland and everybody, in short, are very anxious to have your volume of sermons, and, if nothing else will do, we must sign a requisition, as the fashion of the day is, or, after the manner of old times, make some solemn appeal, which you would shrink from not complying with, but the sermons *we must have*. . . .

What day would suit you for reading your paper on the Fathers next term? If you take Irenaeus, should you still like to keep St. Athanasius for a more distant day, for you must not be overloaded with translation; and N. would like it very well. Cyril of Jerusalem is beginning

very well in new hands, Mr. Church's, of Wadham, Marriott's friend; the Confessions are waiting until I can get an old and a good translation (which there is) to revise.

The post is just going out, so I will only add our sincere hopes that Mrs. Keble is better, or at least not worse in these cold winds, and that she will soon be better.

Are we indeed (i. e. the Cathedrals) out of the paw of the lion?

Ever your affectionate and grateful friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Passion Week, 1837.

Farewell, and recollect the SERMONS.

In his spare time—so to describe it—Pusey was engaged in expanding the first part of his tract on Baptism, and in revising both the original text and the translation of St. Augustine's Confessions for the Library of the Fathers. In this labour he was largely assisted by his wife; who, though in very weak health, spent many hours of every week in the Bodleian Library. But these labours for a more remote future were interrupted by constant sermon work. Thus, describing the second Sunday after Easter, he writes:—

E. B. P. TO MRS. PUSEY.

April 10, 1837.

I preached for an hour in the morning in Mr. Dodsworth's chapel; then we administered the Communion to above a hundred people. And then, not feeling myself tired, I refitted the beginning of my sermon on Prayer, and preached for an hour in the evening, and my chest did not feel it in the least.

On the following Sunday, April 16th, he preached at St. Mary's, Oxford.

On May 25th he preached again in Oxford in aid of the Diocesan Society for the Religious Education of the Poor. The sermon gave a practical turn to his great tract: he based on St. Mark x. 13, 14 an earnest demonstration that Baptism is the ground and encouragement of Christian education¹. In the evening he writes to his wife:—

¹ 'Parochial Sermons,' vol. iii. serm. 13. It seems (ib. p. 313 note) that the sermon was somewhat abridged when published.

'I promised to write to-day, to say that I was not, if I was not, tired; and I have only time just to say so. My sermon was, I am told, an hour and a half. People were very attentive, and the dear little children very quiet and good. . . . I thought much, of course, of our own little ones. I was a good deal flushed when it was over, and walked in the meadow with Hook before dinner.'

On St. Barnabas' Day, on his way to Guernsey, he preached a striking sermon in London on 'Christian kindness' and charity, in aid of the newly-founded Additional Curates' Fund¹. His holiday was spent partly in Guernsey and partly in Sark. The Channel Islands, from various causes, have been the stronghold of the Puritan tradition for three centuries; and Pusey's name would already have inspired excellent people who had no other means of information than party newspapers with the greatest apprehensions. At the end of three weeks Pusey thus describes his experiences:—

E. B. P. TO THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Guernsey, July, 1837.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You will be glad to hear that on the whole the health of my dear wife is mending, although she is still very weak, so much so that she cannot walk (except a little in a room) by herself, nor up and down a few stairs when necessary without a good deal of help. However, she is less weak than she was, and so we look on it as an earnest of a fuller restoration of health in His good time, although the cough is not gone, or, rather, increased. I am very sorry to hear of the alarming illness of Manning's and H. Wilberforce's wives.

This is a pleasant, although a very soporific island: it has beautiful bays and sea-views, but not at all favourable to study. I have just finished revising half the Confessions, but have done nothing besides. My article in the *Brit. Crit.*, Baptism, &c., are all *in statu quo*. However, the Confessions will readily be done while I stay here, and the rest be forthcoming, I trust, in due time. . . .

The town here, which is about half the island, is half dissenting, half *x*, with a straggling *y*, one or two of them perhaps, and some *z*'s². I find that I have been attending their great goddess Diana, a chapel, the attendance or non-attendance upon which constitutes a person a Christian; and there is another *z* chapel, I fear one of our English

¹ 'Parochial Sermons,' vol. iii. serm. 16.

² *x* means Evangelical, *y* Trac-

tarians, and *z* represents those whom Newman called the 'Establishment men.' Newman's 'Letters,' i. 478-9.

exportations. They actually re-elect the minister to this idol-shrine of theirs every five years, and since 1818, when it was built, they have had seven or eight clergymen; and they thought that they had done a great deal in securing the purity of their minister. One-third of the trustees are sick of the system, so it will probably receive its coup-de-grace shortly. At one time they had two clergy, one of whom preached against the other, against the Wednesday prayers, and recommended the people to go to the dissenters rather than church when his colleague preached: advice which has been strongly taken, for now there are not twenty people at the Wednesday and Friday prayers (before they were daily), and the dissenting chapels are large and full. This race has passed away; however, even the Bp. of W. had to recommend to them to subscribe to the S. P. G., and was answered that it was inexpedient, because it would interfere with the Church Missionary Society. The surplice is still a badge of Papistrie, and is used only in the two English churches, although the Bishop recommended it.

If one might judge from this place, the *Record*, with its attacks upon us, has done good; it seems to have raised a curiosity about Catholic views, and to have prepared people to find them less bad than they were told. . . . Another, the oldest *x* clergyman in the island, father of Brock of Oriel, asked for a conference on Baptismal Regeneration. It is not come yet, and I do not expect anything from it but kindly feeling; still, I saw in these and other cases that the *Record* had over-shot its mark. Meanwhile the young men come up to Oxford and return *y*'s.

The most interesting phenomenon here, however, to me is the Governor, a Lt.-Colonel, Sir James Douglas, a very active, intelligent, straightforward, well-informed, painstaking man, who does simply and downrightly whatever he sees to be his duty, and who, without any help from without, has come to the Catholic views. I was sitting opposite Cornish, a little below him, at dinner, when, Ireland being spoken of, he burst out with such a strong natural eloquence, regretting that the Irish clergy had departed from our first Reformation, that of our Prayer-book, spoke of them warmly as excellent, pious, self-devoted men, but that all their exertions were *crippled*; they were wearing themselves out doing nothing, neither gaining from the Romanists nor helping their own people; that it was lamentable that because the North was wrong people should think they must go due South; then spoke simply and well on the value of Ordinances: in short, it was the *Via Media*, coming from the lips of a layman and a veteran officer. Cornish's eyes glistened with joy; I hailed the omen and told him that that was just what we were struggling for at Oxford, of which he knew nothing.

I heard some more of his history in a conversation of two hours, and it did not appear that he had any outward help except his Prayer-book as a comment on the Ordinances (the Communion he had received

weekly for four years where he was last quartered), only he mentioned a sermon of Mr. Sibthorp's which he said would in Ireland be condemned because it would not tell against the Papists. The only question there is, what will tell against Popery. (I imagine Mr. S.'s sermon was on the Eucharist.) 'And yet,' he said, 'it was only what is in the Prayer-book.' It was very encouraging—a sort of earnest that there are Corneliuses of whom we know nothing. I have been happier ever since. I cannot give you any idea of the simple, vivid straightforwardness and upright warmth with which he spoke. I have not, long, been so struck with any one.

Pusey spent a month in Guernsey, and on July 13 went for another month to Sark. There he preached three times. A Cornish miner was washed off the pier by a wave, and Pusey preached on 'Sudden death¹.' On St. James' Day he followed up the lesson by a very characteristic appeal on 'Obeying calls².' A third sermon to the islanders, on the ninth Sunday after Trinity, had been preached before at Holton: it was on the wisdom of the children of light, and a few alterations made it appropriate to the circumstances of his island audience. On Oct. 1st he preached for a relation, who was Curate of Churchill, near Chipping Norton, on 'grieving the Holy Spirit.' On the 5th of November he preached in the University pulpit the first of his sermons which may be described as historical. The occasion fell on a Sunday, and Dr. Gilbert, the Principal of B. N. C., who was Vice-Chancellor, asked Pusey to preach at rather short notice.

'I hardly know,' Pusey writes to Newman in anticipation of his duty, 'how to manage it. I am not at all at home on Church and State questions. Nor have I good historical knowledge of any sort. It would be an excellent subject for the tracing God's Providence in the Church, and how every act in the Church, as in individuals, is full of consequences, and therefore such days ought to be kept. But for this I have not knowledge nor time to acquire it. Then K.'s favourite text, "In quietness and confidence," or "Stand still, and ye shall see the salvation of God," as opposed to the bustling spirit of the present day, and the scheming one of the Church of Rome. Or, again, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against her." Or not doing evil that good may come, against Rome and the Jesuits and our expediency. In short,

¹ 'Par. Ser.,' vol. iii. serm. 1.

² *Ib.*, serm. 18.

I feel like a person with a great gun put into his hands, but he does not know exactly with what materials to load it or how to use it.'

And to another friend :—

'I have been looking over our pamphlets since to see what sort of subjects they used to preach on, but I cannot make out that many preached on anything. I am rather perplexed, and yet have no time to wait to choose. . . . I think I shall take "Stand still" as my text; yet I am much inclined on the other hand to take the indefectibility and unshakeness of the Catholic Church.'

The sermon was eventually of the type to which Pusey inclines in these extracts. Its title is descriptive of its contents: 'Patience and confidence the strength of the Church.' It is an assertion of the application and place of the passive Christian virtues in any adequate conception of political duty. The Gunpowder Plot is regarded as, among other things, a repudiation of the passive side of Christian morals; but Guy Fawkes was in this respect a sample and predecessor of many very differently minded persons of a later time.

The service for the 5th of November commemorated the landing of William of Orange as well as the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot; and the principle of passive obedience to Governments, which was the condemnation of Guy Fawkes, could hardly be invoked in support of the Revolution of 1688. Accordingly Pusey insists upon its application with an impartiality which made criticism from many sides inevitable. Certainly the arrival of William 'saved the nation from the miseries of anarchy and civil war'; and 'for this and the preservation of the Church amid this convulsion we have great cause of thankfulness.' But 'the line which men took in resisting James' evil' was in principle as indefensible as the wicked enterprise of Guy Fawkes; and it was not unconnected with the 'deadness' and 'shallowness' which characterized the English Church and theology during the eighteenth century. Nay, the precedent has not ceased to be a power for evil in our own day.

'The present storm which lowers around our Church and State is but a drawing out of the principles of what men have dared to call the

“glorious revolution,” as that revolution was the sequel and result of the first rebellion.’

This was enough to raise, and it did raise a storm, though, as storms were in those years, not a violent one.

‘Pusey’s sermon,’ wrote James Mozley to his sister, ‘is making a great fuss : I suppose it is the first time of the Revolution being formally preached against since Sacheverel.’

A clergyman wrote a pamphlet to prove that passive obedience to *one* authority in the State when in opposition to other authorities was unsanctioned by Holy Scripture. The *Edinburgh Review* in a temperate article, understood to be by Merivale, attacked Pusey’s position on its practical side, as involving an unquestioning invariable submission to all the administrators of the law which is inconsistent with true social well-being : if James II. might not be misled, neither might a foolish and misguided parish constable. Pusey had a right to reply that it was not a question of resisting James—James had been resisted by Ken and Sancroft—but of deposing him ; and Pusey does not maintain the divine origin of *Kingly* rule, but the divine origin of *Government*. The two appendices to his sermon which were Pusey’s answer to his critics are probably the most purely political piece of writing which Pusey ever attempted. Certainly the political question involved a case of conscience ; but the days were passing, if they had not already passed away, when the Church of England would identify herself with any particular political opinions ; and, in Pusey’s own words, he had in later life little heart for themes which did not more directly concern the well-being of souls.

It was a proof of the felt reality of Pusey’s sermons that they always involved him in subsequent private correspondence ; and on this occasion Mr. Robert Scott, then Fellow afterwards Master of Balliol College, and Dean of Rochester, wrote to ask Pusey whether the *literal* enforcement of the rules in the New Testament respecting non-resistance to temporal rulers would not involve a like duty of taking no

steps to avert calamity, and refusing to prosecute criminals for personal injuries, and whether such a construction of the moral teaching of the Gospel would not bring it into conflict with principles and duties upon which society rests.

‘Ch. Ch., Nov. 1837.

‘I felt,’ wrote Pusey in reply, ‘the difficulty you name. But I felt also that it must be met by raising our tone on that other class of subjects. We see the evil of resistance on a great scale, and since it is founded on a number of particulars, do not on a small scale; but it may be as bad, and, since more frequent, worse. Individual prosecutors seem to me wrong in principle. The State, I think, ought to do it, as the father of the family, and only call upon individuals to bear witness, as a father would ask another child if one did not answer.

‘The difficulty as to the rules in the New Testament is surely in themselves or in us. They seem to direct plainly certain things, and men cannot bring themselves to think that they mean what they seem to mean. The difficulty of explaining “resist not evil” is intrinsic to itself. In St. Justin’s time they took it literally, and seem to have gone on much more happily. But one may take measures to prevent injuries, e. g. lock one’s door—let the law protect one if it will. If individuals did not prosecute, the law would, and then the same result would be arrived at, as far as public peace is concerned, by the way of obedience, and without revengeful feelings.

‘Taking wrong patiently would turn more hearts than are converted by discussion.’

Pusey’s correspondent’s second question was whether an English King had not entered into engagements, the breaking of which forfeited the allegiance of his subjects—engagements which did not bind Roman Emperors whose authority is contemplated by the New Testament precepts. Pusey replies:—

‘With regard to the Coronation Oath, it binds the Sovereign, of course, though it seems a part of the “compact-system” now to think that a portion of his subjects can release him. But I do not think that, though more bound to his subjects than Caligula, he is more responsible to them . . . ; that they have any more right to take the redress into their own hands. He is morally bound, and they may, and ought, to remind him, to expostulate with him, but then leave him in the Hands of God, as David did (1 Sam. xxvi. 10). . . . With consequences I think we have nothing to do; though even on that ground, with all the evils of resistance before our eyes, one could not easily be brought to think that those of non-resistance would be greater. However,

I suppose it will often be the trial of faith that the evils will threaten to be overwhelming; as I suppose Antichrist, whether resisted or no, will inflict very great evils, but at the end the days will be shortened, and those who persevere will escape.'

The chief interest of the sermon lies in the proof which it affords of Pusey's strong and growing moral affinities with Keble. Pusey and Keble had been on opposite sides in the political struggle of 1829: Blanco White even describes Pusey, perhaps not without some exaggeration, as 'at that time one of the most Liberal members of the University.' The political difference meant a certain underlying moral difference. Keble's moral temper led him to view reform and change with distrust, if not with aversion: his faith in God's presence and guidance made all high-handed self-willed action on man's part appear more or less irreverent. It was then quite in Keble's spirit that Pusey now extracted from the two events commemorated on the 5th of November the principles that we may safely leave things to God, and that there is great risk that man's impatience may mar the blessings which God designs for His Church. But these principles have at least as obvious an application to religious as to political conduct. The temper which would have resisted James' illegal action, and have taken the consequences of resistance by undergoing personal inconvenience or suffering while refusing to do anything that might lead to his dethronement, was the temper which in the coming days of trouble would listen in silent sorrow to Church authority repudiating the principles which alone could justify its existence, but would not on that account be betrayed into disloyal desertion of the Church herself. The question has often been asked how Pusey and Keble were able to remain in the Church of England during the unhappy years when its rulers set themselves so generally to condemn them. The moral side of the answer to that question will be apparent to a careful reader of the sermon, 'Patience and confidence the strength of the Church.'

'We may not,' Pusey urges, 'be over-anxious even about holy things, such as the deliverance of the Church from

unjust thralldom or from spiritual disadvantages.' Israel was in bondage for four hundred years in Egypt; for seventy years in Babylon. 'O tarry thou the Lord's leisure.'

The sermon was dedicated to Keble, 'who in years past unconsciously implanted a truth which was afterwards to take root': and with 'every feeling of respectful and affectionate gratitude for this and many other benefits.' Pusey forwarded it to him with the subjoined letter:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Christ Church, Nov. 15, 1837.

You will perhaps be surprised at the dedication; and that surprise may be an encouraging token how on other occasions in which you have spoken out the truth it has taken root, though you never saw it. It was at Fairford, many years ago, when I was thoughtlessly, or rather, I must say, confidently, taking for granted that the Stuarts were rightly dethroned, that I heard for the first time a hint to the contrary from you. Your seriousness was an unintended reproof to my petulant expression about it, and so it stuck by me, although it was some time before it took root and burst through all the clods placed upon it.

I did not send the dedication to you beforehand, partly because there *seemed* hardly time, although there would have been as it happens; partly because I did not wish you to see or know of it beforehand. I thought you might object to expressions if you saw them, which, when beyond recall, you might take quietly.

During November, 1837, Pusey again preached twice before the University; once on Jesus Christ¹, the One Foundation of Christian faith and hope; and again, on the Divine Judgment². But he had been still more seriously engaged upon the third of the subjects which it fell to his lot to discuss in the 'Tracts for the Times.' Already he had written on Fasting and Holy Baptism. The other great Sacrament naturally followed in Tract 81. He had formed a plan of such a work in the previous year. When staying at Holton he had preached on the subject in the village church³, and his letters show that his mind was constantly

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 11, 26th Sunday after Trinity, Nov. 19, 1837.

² 1 Cor. iv. 4, Sunday before Advent, Nov. 26, 1837. Neither of these

sermons have been published.

³ This sermon was recast. Cf. 'Par. Sermon,' iii. serm. 15.

dwelling on it. When asked to complete his tract on Baptism by another on the Baptism of Adults, 'my own wishes,' he replied, 'as you know, lead me to Absolution and the Lord's Supper.' It was Pusey's manner to look out for tokens of God's guidance respecting matters of which his mind was full. Such tokens he found in the many indications of a desire for instruction in Eucharistic truth. As he expresses it very beautifully in the preface to this Tract:—

'The ardent longing which God has in so many minds awakened to know and practise the faith of the Church, such as it was in the days when she kept her first love, is a warning which may not be passed unheeded; and they who know that Church's way have a duty laid upon them to declare it¹.'

He was thus led on to that careful exposition of the doctrine of the Eucharist which formed so large a part of the work of his life, and in behalf of which he was before long called upon to bear painful witness. All instructed Churchmen are aware that the Holy Eucharist is at once the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ truly present, and the presentation or offering of the Sacrifice made by Christ upon the Cross to the Eternal Father. Of these two divisions of the subject, the first would naturally claim a prior treatment, both as being essential to the nature of the Sacrament, and because, apart from the true Presence of Christ's Body and Blood, the Sacrifice in the Eucharist is unintelligible. But the writers of the Tracts had appealed to primitive antiquity, and they were confronted by the fact that antiquity is full of the doctrine of a Sacrifice in the Eucharist. On the other hand, in much of the current teaching of the English Church this doctrine had fallen to a very great extent into the background; and this circumstance made an immediate restatement of the doctrine a natural feature of the general enterprise represented by the Tracts.

¹ Tract 81, p. 53.

Pusey begins his tract with a statement of the primitive teaching about the Eucharistic Sacrifice, as he understood it; he then passes on to draw distinctions between this primitive doctrine and that of the Roman Church. When he comes to speak of this doctrine as held in the English Church, he sketches the alterations made on this subject in the various reformed Prayer-books. In a passage of considerable force, Pusey apologizes for the English Reformers by insisting on the difficulty of attaining to an adequate apprehension of truth amid struggles such as those of the sixteenth century. He points out that the Reformation in the English Church was in no sense completed until the Caroline divines had appeared on the scene; and that our standard of doctrine is not the Prayer-book of 1552, but the Prayer-book of 1662.

‘The divines of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries had different offices. In the sixteenth we are to look for strong broad statements of truths which had been obscured by Popery, but often without the modification which they require and receive from other portions of the Gospel. In the seventeenth we have the calmer, deeper statements of men to whom God had given peace from the first conflict. . . . Each had their several offices, and were severally qualified for them; and they only risk disparaging the Reformers of the sixteenth century who would look to them for that which was not their office; namely, a well-proportioned and equable exhibition of the several parts of the Catholic Faith, which was, in the appointed order of things, rather reserved for the seventeenth¹.’

This leads him, not without good reason, to attach very great weight to the teaching of a series of divines whose continuous exposition of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice he gives in the *Catena* to which this essay is the introduction. The *Catena* was, at least in the main, the work of the Rev. B. Harrison, and it cites sixty-five authors, ending with Bishop Phillpotts, who was ruling the see of Exeter. Of these authors some state the doctrine fully enough, while others are vague and undecided, whether from being overawed by the Puritan tradition, or as only

¹ Tract 81, p. 25 (3rd ed.).

writing loosely and popularly. That they were concerned about it at all is a fact bearing witness to the continued reception of the doctrine in the Church of England since the Reformation, even though some of them inadequately understood it.

When referring apologetically in later life to some of his earlier writings Pusey would often say, 'In those days we were learning': in the light of his later Eucharistic teaching he would probably have applied the remark to the preface of this tract. At the same time it is noticeable that in September, 1836, Newman, incidentally anticipating the principles of Tract 90, had written to him: 'As to the sacrificial view of the Eucharist, I do not see that you can find fault with the formal wording of the Tridentine Decree. Does not the Article on "the Sacrifices of *Masses*," &c. supply the doctrine or notion to be opposed? What that is, is to be learnt historically, I suppose.' Pusey also acquiesced in the formal wording of the Council of Trent on the subject, except so far as its words were modified by the doctrines of Transubstantiation and Purgatory¹.

Besides the question of Eucharistic doctrine, Pusey's correspondence at this time gives clear evidence of various other questions more or less difficult in respect to doctrine, practice, or terminology, arising out of a more general appreciation of Church principles and order. As regards doctrine, for instance, Pusey is asked by his old college friend, the Rev. John Parker, of Sweeney, the true relation of Conversion to Baptism. He answers as follows:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. PARKER.

I have not read through the Bishop of Bangor's tract: what I have seen I regard as an improvement upon Waterland, whom I think cold (i.e. his times were so). But W. makes Regeneration too merely a change of state, a being brought into covenant, not an actual birth: on this the Bishop improves, but uses the same phraseology, which would efface very much of the mystical character of Baptism. I think the best explanation of Baptism that of the Catechism, 'Wherein

¹ Tract 81, p. 47.

I was made a member of Christ, a child of God, &c.,' and so it places its value in our being thereby engrafted into Christ, made members of Him, and so being actually born sons of God, of water and the Spirit. The Low Church would explain *how* Regeneration is by making it a change of nature: better to have it as it is set forth; a new birth implies a new nature, existence imparted; and this is actual, not metaphorical, and by virtue of the Incarnation of our Lord Who took our nature that He might impart to us His.

I cannot by any means admit that 'conversion, if it follows at all, does not follow until the heart is conscious of its corruption.' I do not think that if there were more Christian education there would be need of any such process as conversion; the child for the most part loves to hear of God and to obey Him, if not at the moment of strong temptation, yet, if encouraged, even then often; and very often children will deny themselves, punish themselves, restrain themselves, by the thought of God; help each other and be helped by them in doing their duty, by the thought of God. It is our faithless education which leaves us so many unfaithful Christians, and which checks the power which Baptism imparts. People corrupt their children instead of teaching them to amend.

I am revising the second edition carefully, so need not say more here, only this: something is meant by there being 'one Baptism for the remission of sins.' There are many comforts in the way: Absolution, the Communion, good thoughts put into the heart, having been raised up again, &c.; but there is no second plenary Absolution of all sin such as Baptism is, until the final Absolution at the Day of Judgment, which God grant us and all our friends. Again, God, I doubt not, will comfort people when it is good for them, but not at once, nor in the summary way in which people nowadays are wont [to ask for comfort].

Ever your very sincere friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Again, at the beginning of January Pusey received from the Rev. J. H. Stewart, Rector of St. Bride's, Liverpool, an invitation to join in a 'concert for prayer on the first Monday of the year, for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.' Pusey welcomed the invitation, so far as it implied a

'value for united intercessory prayer, especially as coming from those who, by their practice and words at least, have seemed to set preaching so much above prayer, and have habitually disparaged the intercessory prayers of the Church.'

But the plan recommended private prayer before day-break; family prayer; private assemblage of members of

the same communion for prayer ; and 'public worship with an appropriate discourse' in the evening. Pusey seized the opportunity thus presented to point out, in the *British Magazine*, that the Church already offered in her daily offices, prescribed for both clergy and people, more than all the devotional advantages which this well-intentioned but crude proposal was intended to secure. 'The Church,' he says,

'has provided for this as well as for other wants of her children, and has—not on one day in the year, but for every day—furnished them with a service wherein they might ask, not this only, but for every other blessing upon themselves and the whole Church. Her daily service leaves none unheeded ; her extension and purity form part of the "Prayer for all conditions of men" and the Litany. Nor need it be said that this can be only through the manifold gifts of the Holy Ghost. This descent of the continual dew of the Holy Ghost on the whole Church is especially the prayer of that "for the Clergy and People." The prayer enters again into the Te Deum and the responses after the Creed ; it is involved in the very "Gloria Patri," which is so often repeated ; inculcated by the very frequent praying of the prayer of our Lord ("Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth," &c.), contained in so many of the Psalms which the Church provides as her children's daily food. For the Lord's Day there is, at all events, in addition, the "Prayer for the Church Militant," and, if men will, the Holy Eucharist. What, then, foreign Protestants have attempted in this new way once in the year, the Church has every day. And what if, through the unfaithfulness of some of her ministers, past or present, prayer has grown cold, and daily service been often disused ? The Church has not been unfaithful ; she, too, in her rubric and ordination vows, which she prescribes to her priests to take, that they should be "diligent in prayer," has been uttering her voice, whether men would hear or whether they would forbear ; and so soon as her ministers keep their vows those blessings, which negligence only suspends, will be realized day by day. Whatever may be the case with villages, if a call, much less loud than this now made, were made by each minister to his flock, there would be congregations day by day in every church of every town ; but now, ministers often look coldly on, grudge the time occupied even on the Litany days, and themselves the privilege of praying with two or three, where "a Fourth is with them," and fall in with the listlessness of their people, instead of drawing on their people, so that one could scarce say which cared least about the privilege—minister or people. But "the Church's prayers have become a form !" But to whom are they "formalities," except to "formalists" ? and do they not rather "form" those who

will be "formed" after the heavenly pattern, and for heaven—"form" through the "dew of God's Holy Spirit," "Christ within them," and them after the form and likeness of God? And if they become formalities, whose fault is it? Again, this foreign "Concert for Prayer," is it not a form? What is a stricter "form"? The very order of the whole day is pointed out. Not that this is objectionable, if it came from authority; only it is a strict form, and so they who adopt it must not object to forms.'

But Pusey was not merely concerned with theoretical questions of Church principles: he was eager for their application at home and abroad, in order to save the souls of men. He had a plan for missionary exhibitions on the one hand, and a scheme for Church building in the poorer part of Oxford and for colleges of celibate clergy in our great cities on the other. On the exhibitions to help missionary education, he writes to his wife:—

'June 19, 1838.

'I have been talking to some people about reviving that plan of Dr. Burton's for exhibitions here, for the education of missionaries to go to India, and I have a little pet plan of our having a missionary of our own, or rather that we might give up one of the two upper rooms to a person on the plan of Mr. Barratt, who might be educated here for a missionary. The want of men for missionaries is greater than that of funds, but I have not yet breathed a syllable of this to any one, nor shall unless, when we talk it over together, you altogether like it.'

He wrote to the same effect to Newman and Harrison; but Mrs. Pusey's rapidly failing health made it impossible to take any of the practical steps which he contemplated. With regard to the new church in Oxford:—

'I have been to-day,' he writes to his wife, in the same letter, 'to a meeting about one or two churches in St. Ebbe's, but would not speak, though much pressed by Churton and Hamilton. It is not my line, and I do not like the speechifying which we have. . . .

'Hamilton made a fair speech, except that he talked about the Established Church of Scotland, that is, the Presbyterian Kirk.'

Pusey however was put on the Committee.

'I went,' he writes on August 11, 'at twelve to a meeting in St. Ebbe's vestry, where, after a good deal of debating, all was carried which I wished. But it lasted three and a half hours. . . . However,

we carried some very important points, one by six to five only, and things are set in a good train.'

This was the first stage of the effort which led to the building of Holy Trinity Church.

The larger project of colleges of unmarried clergy occupied his thoughts a good deal. The need of some such agency was suggested to Pusey by his keen interest in Bishop Blomfield's efforts in the east of London. The form which the proposal assumed would have been supplied by the statutes of the colleges of Oxford, as they existed before the recent academical revolution. In 1833 Hurrell Froude had remarked that

'colleges of unmarried priests, who might of course retire to a living when they could and liked, would be the cheapest possible way of providing effectively for the spiritual wants of a large population¹.'

Conversation often turned on the subject; but about 1838 it seemed that something practical was in view, and Pusey's letters to Newman refer to it not unfrequently.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

July 19, 1838.

I hope Wood, &c. are not aground with their plan for colleges of twelve clergy in our large towns. (N.B. it should be twelve, not ten, notwithstanding the convenience of decimal notation.) I think it would take uncommonly, and must, of course, do a great deal of good. It will do people good to see another thing started on a large scale.

Again, three weeks later:—

Weymouth, Aug. 9, 1838.

Robert Williams called here, I talked to him about the colleges for manufacturing towns. I have opportunely enough received a book from Mr. Parkinson at Manchester, which makes an opening there. The more I think of Froude's plan, the more it seems to me the only one, if anything is to be done for our large towns. I had come to the same conclusion for missionaries, that they ought not to be married men. As he says, the exhibition of the domestic graces is not enough to make an impression upon persons in such a state.

Now perhaps it might make least splash if it were connected somehow with the existing college at Manchester, and it would be a good

¹ 'Remains,' vol. i. p. 322.

hint to the Bishop of London to begin endowing colleges, while he is proposing to pull them to pieces. It might show what might be made of St. Paul's. What I should like then would be a place for (ultimately) twelve Fellows, but beginning with not less than two, with an endowment of £1,000 for each, which would give a permanency to the plan, and so enable one to make rules for them. The Bishop might be Visitor, which would place it under proper sanction; and they might be self-elective, like other colleges, so that there would be no difficulty about patronage. Williams proposed, as a rule, that all income which they had above a certain amount should, *so long* as they remained members, go to the purposes of the establishment. This, I suppose, would lead to endowments and prevent luxury. Also that as soon as their income amounted to a certain sum, they should send off colonies elsewhere, which would both extend the system and prevent accumulations. Then, I suppose, they should be under the parochial clergy, so as to avoid introducing the mischiefs of regular and secular clergy. Williams proposed also their having a common refectory, which would diminish expense, and at the same time might introduce regulations as to fasting-days. But these things might be kept to ourselves and themselves; it would only be necessary to ask the clergy of the college whether they would like such an institution in aid of the cure of Manchester, of which a large portion, I think, belongs to them. Perhaps they might aid as to lodgings. At all events, there would be a chapel ready built for daily service, besides *Hours*.

As for money, it is hard if the Apostolicals cannot raise £12,000: at least, enough to make a beginning; but my own finances are at a very low ebb, if not altogether dry, and I do not know when the tide will begin to flow again. I suppose, however, I should come in before you raised the £12,000.

Newman was cautious and critical.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

August 13, 1838.

As to the Manchester plan, I am suspicious of *endowments*. Somehow in this day, I do think we ought to live for the day, and rather generate an *ἦθος* than a system. £1,000 can be spent more to advantage as ready money.

Pusey was not to be silenced:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

August 15, 1838.

It would be easier many ways to dispense with a foundation, and money is miserably wasted everywhere; on the other hand, there seem to me difficulties in carrying out the plan of a college by annual contri-

butions. (1) We thereby make ourselves a society, and, in whatever degree the plan is carried out, more of a society. (2) We cannot make any regulations for the college ourselves, but must confine ourselves to acting with persons who altogether agree with us, of whom in towns there are few or none. (I should not like Leeds as the scene of operation, since the vicarage is very well endowed.) (3) Who is to be responsible for its continuance? Then by a foundation we might obtain legacies, *in salutem animae*. And how rapidly such foundations spread; our country had once more of them than any other; so I hope the root remains in the ground, though the spoiler has miserably maimed the trunk and cut off the branches. If we were to form a foundation, we should naturally be employed to get men in the first instance, and might make the bodies self-elective, so that one should get rid of patronage and appointment. I cannot help thinking we should in time have splendid contributions.

If we confine ourselves to an annual income I do not see how we are to make regulations, for this would be an *imperium in imperio*, and (unless you induced the Archbishop to make you General of the Order) unauthoritative, just like the Pastoral Aid Society, &c.; but I should like to know what your plan would be. It would certainly be a great gain, if we could not get all, at least to introduce the notion of a mass of clergy in our large towns. I doubt whether, without a foundation, it would give rise to any institutions of moment, for I suppose that the pattern given will be copied, whatever it is; and it seems beginning too far off to give rise to colleges. But it might, at all events, ameliorate the heathenish state of our great towns, and correct the stupidity with which people look on at such skeletons of the true fabrics—one clergyman where there ought to be a Bishopric.

On second thoughts, however, Pusey appears to have felt that Newman's ideas on the subject were more practical than his own, and that they pointed to a quarter which he had before set aside.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

August 21, 1838.

I have been thinking that if you decidedly think that one ought not to attempt a foundation, that the only way will be to return to the original plan of assisting Hook at Leeds, in which case he must be responsible to the curates, and we to him; and he, I suppose, would be ready to do something towards the plan. But for your end of producing an *ηθος*, are not large plans, as being action, the very way to do? One College of Clergy founded for a large town is a great speaking fact; the Bishop of London's plan or the Additional Curates' Fund, in their way, are tending to produce an *ηθος*, just as these plans of the Peculiars,

their Canada or Colonial Church Society, their Pastoral Aid Society, and now their London Church Society, are produced by and reproducing a terrible $\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ of selfishness and self-confidence, trusting themselves, and trusting no one but themselves. However, perhaps we may meet soon to talk over these things ; only, if you have made up your mind, I am here close by Williams, and so have the opportunity of talking with him.

In the middle of September the plan was so far matured that Pusey wrote to two clergymen suggesting that they should 'lay the foundation' of such a college as was proposed. For various reasons, chiefly of a personal character, both of Pusey's correspondents declined his invitation. The plan accordingly dropped for the time being. As far as Manchester was concerned, it fell through altogether. At a later date it had practical results on more than one church in London, through correspondence with Mr. Dodsworth ; and it is to be traced as the inspiring ideal of the generous efforts which are connected with the establishment of the Church of St. Saviour's, Leeds.

Already the principles of the Tracts were being propagated in Leeds by Dr. Hook, and the following letter from Pusey shows the relations with Hook at that time. Early in 1838 the Tracts were attacked in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, and Dr. Hook remonstrated with the writer, and forwarded his remonstrance and the reply which it elicited to Pusey.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

. . . Thanks also for your defence of us ; as for your being our disciple, the thing is absurd. Newman said in the *Christian Observer* that you had formed or received your views long before many of the writers in the Tracts (long before myself upon many points, though many, as Baptism and the Succession, I held as far as I understood them). We were led by different paths to the same end, and from our early separation had little to do in forming each other's opinions ; and you have held them earlier than N. probably, and far longer and more consistently than ourselves. This I shall always gladly aver, if occasion offers, as N. has done. . . .

Nothing could be further, probably, from the thoughts of those who started the Tracts, than that they would ever attain anything like the report, good or evil, which they have. They were cast out at first, like

bread upon the waters, which they who cast it knew not when they should find. They were a few earnest voices, crying 'Stop, stop,' to a people who were running headlong into new ways; they were little beginnings, to become whatever God might will. Now, however, they must be taken as facts; people are curious about them; want to know what is thought of them, or what to think of them; they have not access to much of the old divinity with which they accord; and they will be for a time one of the chief channels through which people will receive the old views. They and their history have become one of the phenomena of the day; when they have done their work they, or many of them, will be laid aside. But the present is the time for doing their work; and so, as one of the instruments employed now, it is well, I think, for persons who would influence their day to know their character and be able to give an opinion about them. All you say is, of course, perfectly true; they are not things to be made tests of right principles, badges of a party, to be received indiscriminately, to be looked upon as, of course, Catholic, &c., &c. This should be said: they wish, they profess to be Catholic; they disclaim anything as binding which is not Catholic, and would reject anything which should be proved to be anti-Catholic. But while you rightly caution people against them as tests of Catholicity instead of guides to it, this is still only half, only one side: people want to know not only what they are not, but what they are; whether they are sound or unsound; and there are many who would look to yourself to guide them to form a judgment on this. It is not sufficient for a *teacher* to say, "I call no man master"; if anything is proved to be anti-Catholic I disclaim it': the learner wishes to know from his teacher something more definite; and so it would be well for you, I think, to read them, and to be able to instruct any who ask, '*this* is certainly Catholic'; '*this* appears to me to be a private opinion, or an opinion received in part of the Church only, and so not to have the same weight'; '*this* is a practice of the Western Church only'; '*this* is an *individual* attempt to carry out and adapt to our times antient services,' &c., &c., as the case may be. If you judge freely, as you are entitled to do, on our Tracts, you will not be looked upon as our pupil, but will take your station the more as the Doctor of those who ought to look up to you.

I have said the more on this because I think this general way of speaking unsatisfactory and calculated to throw suspicion upon our unity, and to weaken us by making people think we are not so united as we really are. One great source of the impression which we make is, humanly speaking, our union; the *Record* tries as much as it can to make out that we are but three, that the Tracts are not Oxford tracts, but tracts of K., N., and P.; or it would give us one human head and call us N—ites or P—ites, but all will not do: I do not believe that they can thoroughly persuade themselves of it, and so not others. However, this may show us where our strength is—union, i. e. that omitting points of detail, we should be understood as pressing

the same principles, that we urge what is Catholic, and that we are agreed what is Catholic; that while we need not even restrict ourselves to what is Catholic (so that it be not anti-Catholic), but may hold severally even what has been received in parts of the Church, and so are not bound in all things to hold the same, yet that as the largest portion infinitely, as well as the essential, is Catholic, in the largest portion we must be agreed. This struggle *is* about the Catholic faith. What is called Papistical, what we are abused for, is Catholic; in speaking of anything human (since what is Catholic is not so) one must of course be understood to express one's approbation with a limitation; but still one would speak of certain things with approbation, e. g. Hooker, although in some things he may retain the Calvinistic tinge of the school in which he was educated. Now, without comparing small things with great, I think that those who do in the main agree with the principles of the 'Tracts for the Times' should be able to say that they do; let them make what limitations or restrictions they please, it is of moment that they should be able to speak of them on the whole. An office has been given them in reward of the faith of those (of whom I was not one) who first sent them forth to do service against sight, and so it is well to wish them 'God speed,' and to avow that you do so.

I have written all this because there is a number of persons who think that they shall act best independently. I thought so once, but I found myself swept into the stream, i. e. I found that I was identified with Newman and with *ὁ μακαρίτης* Froude; and so I was the more comfortable; my place was given me: before, I thought that I was bearing testimony to the same cause as a separate witness. There are many such, more or less: Sewell, who writes the articles in the *Quarterly*, is one. People do not know of petty distinctions; they class things broadly. We are congratulated at the *Quarterly* having admitted our (i. e. Catholic) views, while Sewell is imagining that he is detached from us, and not committed to us. It is much better that a person should know in what position he is. While I denied that we were any party, that we were united by any narrower bands than Catholicity and charity, I denied not that we thought alike; I spoke not of N. or F. as third persons, but gladly joined myself with them; and so shall one most effectually break up what would be an evil, the formation of a party, by avowing and showing how much and how many it comprehends. Rose wishes us well, but keeps rather aloof from us; yet the *Record* has long ago summed up Rose and you and us together. We must fight together; it is well to show that we fight under the same colours and in the same detachment.

I have ventured on your long friendship to write this long letter, because from several indications I do not think that you exactly know the position in which you really are, and as another sees it better, I would frankly tell you. You are doing, and are placed in a station for doing more good. You are not altogether insulated, though you

are a witness in the North of what they have not lately heard ; but your witness will be the better heard not as the echo of our voices, but as joining in the same chorus.

In August, 1838, the Rev. B. Harrison, who had so long helped Pusey as his assistant Hebrew lecturer and in other departments of his work, was offered by Archbishop Howley the post of his Examining Chaplain. In making the offer the Archbishop felt that Harrison's relations with the writers of the 'Tracts for the Times' required a word of explanation on his part. Harrison reported to Pusey what took place at the interview. After enlarging on the recommendations of the position to a young man, the Archbishop proceeded :—'*But*, you are looked upon as belonging to what are called "the Oxford divines";' and therefore, he said, in such an appointment he would be regarded as giving his unqualified sanction to their views and opinions.

REV. B. HARRISON TO E. B. P.

August 11, 1838.

... So he went on to express the great respect and regard which he had for the leading men among those he had spoken of, mentioning yourself, Keble, and Newman by name, at the same time that he said there were some points which he could not but think had been carried too far, and he heard much said, he knew not how truly, about certain things in some young men, such as crosses worn on their dress, and which would be apt to be regarded by uninstructed persons as an approach to Popery. He mentioned particularly the publication of Froude's 'Remains,' as one chief point which he regretted, having first, I should say, spoken of the general principle which had been acted upon in a certain degree, of putting things in an extreme and startling way. He knew, he said, what was said in vindication of it, viz. the necessity of calling men's attention to neglected truths and duties ; but he could not but think that the manner of our Lord's teaching set forth a different example ; and with regard, again, to Froude's 'Remains,' he knew it was said that the editors were not responsible for every opinion, and that there was much upon which Froude had not made up his own mind altogether ; but still he regretted that a handle should be given to parties of whose views and designs he highly disapproved. Then again, he said, there were certain practices derived from the pattern of early times, on which he held a somewhat different theory, such as fasting and the observance of the canonical hours of devotion. He had said somewhere before this in the conversation, I think, that

it was very difficult to know oneself, and difficult to draw the line between moderation and lukewarmness, and that a person might seem lukewarm when he would desire to guard anxiously against it. And so in practice he might seem lax to some persons in regard to such observances as those which he had mentioned—of fasting and the stated times of prayer; holding that there were some things in primitive practice which were especially required by the circumstances of the early Church when it was to be distinguished by very strict outward observances from the Pagans around; and that, especially, in regard to the outward observance of stated times of prayer, while he held strongly the duty of continual mental prayer, the necessary business which was entailed upon a person in these days prevented such a regular system of outward devotion. I think this was pretty much what the Archbishop said, and after so full a statement of his views, with the emphatic 'BUT' which introduced it, I thought he would be looking for something of a confession of faith on my part in return; but it seemed, when he had finished, that he merely wished so fully to express the points wherein he differed from those with whose views I was identified, as not to be understood, in making me the offer of this appointment, to be expressing an unqualified approbation of their whole system.

With the Archbishop's permission, Harrison asked Pusey's advice on the question whether he should accept the appointment.

E. B. P. TO REV. B. HARRISON.

Weymouth [Aug. 13, 1838].

There can, of course, be no doubt about your accepting the Archbishop's offer, and I hail so early an appointment to so confidential and important an office as an earnest of extensive usefulness to be opened to you in whatever way the Lord of the vineyard sees fit. The way in which it was announced to you was very satisfactory; it is affecting to read the openness of one so long in the highest station in the Church, telling a young man his views about mental prayer and the rest, and tacitly comparing his own line with the more precise rule which others thought necessary for the most part. It opens a happy prospect of the relation which you will bear to him, so long as it shall seem good that it shall last. You need not to be exhorted to vigilance that you hold fast your own steadfastness; the past is a good earnest that you will have strength given you to do it. Yet, I suppose, that you will feel that you will have a good deal of trial in so doing; the very amiableness of the Archbishop's character would render it naturally the more difficult to hold on a line different from his, whom from character, age, and station you are bound to, and must, respect. Still,

here again it has been a good preparation for you that you have during some years, I suppose, been thrown with people older than yourself; whom you had, in different ways, ground to respect, and yet had to form—by their help in several degrees, but still—your own line for yourself, and He Who has conducted you thus far safely will guide you to the end. You will adapt, or carry on, your own private rules, which will, by His blessing, preserve your own simplicity amid the more varied trials by which it is now to proceed. On the other hand, of course, there is very much to be learnt from the meekness and gentleness of the Archbishop.

While, then, you can be spared at Oxford better than at any former time, your presence about the Archbishop and in London may be of great service to us. Catholicity, as you know, has few representatives enough in London—no one, I suppose, among the clergy, except Dodsworth and your brother-in-law, though others (as Ward of St. J.) may be more or less approximating to it.

It would stop all declamation against Froude, &c., were one to say in the midst, 'Neither Froude nor any of his friends wish for, or would have anything to do with, any change in our Liturgy, Articles, Rubrics. They only wish to act up to what we have.'

For myself, I am very glad of the publication of the 'Remains'; they may very likely be a check, but that in itself may be the very best thing for us, and prevent a too rapid and weakening growth; it may cast people back upon themselves, and make them think more deeply of the principles which they had half taken up; his careful self-discipline is, of course, calculated in this self-indulgent age to do much immediate good, as will his protest against change both upon his own friends and others, and his views will get sifted—*ut alteri prosint sacculo*.

We have great reason to be thankful both for the training you have so long had in the courts of the temple, and in the air of devotion which yet breathes in them, and that you are now called to watch and ward. With regard to the separation, one's only feeling on those subjects must be, 'The time is short,' and we must be ready to go wherever summoned; the apostles abode many years at Jerusalem, and then separated, leaving St. James alone, except that 'Who had the Father and the Son, &c.' But in this case you are brought nearer to your family, and the invisible bond remains.

There is no doubt that Harrison's withdrawal from Oxford was a great loss to Pusey; but it can hardly be added that Pusey's sanguine anticipations of the results of his appointment at Lambeth were realized. Perhaps no

one could have realized them : certainly Harrison did not. The traditional caution of Lambeth was too much for him : his tone became gradually more official and less sympathetic ; he was, as years went on, less the friend of the Movement than its critic. Pusey felt the change deeply : their letters became less frequent, and, although they remained on terms of affectionate friendship with each other, Pusey always referred in later years to the move to Lambeth as 'an unfortunate experiment.'

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XX.

THE following letter of spiritual counsel is interesting both for its intrinsic value, and also as showing that Pusey had already begun that masterly dealing with individual souls which afterwards became such a large portion of his life's work.

E. B. P. TO ——.

MY DEAR ——

Weymouth, Aug. 20, 1838.

I am very glad that you have summoned resolution to write to me, and, though I did not anticipate it (as I did not know on what you were going to write), readily feel that you must have had difficulty: for it is a solemn and earnest thing to write about one's-self, and there is a feeling of reluctance annexed to laying open one's-self in any degree, as a caution that it is to be done rarely, and only when required by some adequate object.

On the subject upon which you write to me, my general strong impression is that all comfort ought to be of 'God's giving, not of man's taking,' i. e. that it is not our end, but a reward or an encouragement given by God, from time to time, in greater or less degrees, in glimpses, more or less vividly, as He sees good for us, and that the attempt to secure it for ourselves, not being the temper of mind which He sees good for us, ends generally in a false excitement and a fictitious state. I recollect being struck with a saying of Bishop Taylor's, that 'to look for comfort in prayer, and to be anxious for it, was like following our Lord for the loaves and fishes,' or something like this. And Scripture speaks of 'peace' as the direct gift of God. St. Paul begins all the Epistles which he begins in his own name (i. e. all except the Epistle to the Hebrews), by praying for it as God's gift, as much as grace—'Grace be unto you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ'—and this is so fixed a form that he varies it only so far as to say 'from the Father,' and to Timothy and Titus he adds, 'Grace, *mercy*, and peace.' St. Peter uses nearly the same form in the Second Epistle, 'Grace and peace be multiplied unto you through, &c.'—still in the passive form, as a gift conveyed to them, and so far in the First Epistle also. St. John, in his Second Epistle, as addressed to an individual, uses the same form as St. Paul to Timothy and Titus. And this doubtless was an apostolic blessing, and they were conveying on, by

virtue of their office, the blessing which they had received from their Lord, 'Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you'; which seems to be implied by the uniformity of the words used by different apostles; and indeed the seventy had the direction to convey it, 'Into whatsoever house ye enter first say, Peace be to this house'; as I think also the words 'Peace be with you' are a blessing pronounced by the priest in all liturgies; and our other benediction, 'The peace of God, &c.' (from Phil. iv. 7) conveys the same. Again, when 'peace' and 'joy' are said to be fruits of the Spirit, i. e. worked in us by the Holy Spirit, or the words 'joy of the Holy Ghost' (Acts xiii. 52), the same truth is conveyed that Christian joy and peace are worked in the Christian directly by God. They may be lawfully the objects of prayer, but we can no more work them in ourselves, or arrive at them by any process of the understanding, than we can at any other of His gifts. A good deal of mischief, as well as of discomfort, has been caused by overlooking this: people have gone about to establish their own peace, as the Jews did their own righteousness, and so have missed the 'peace of God.' This is eminently the case with the Wesleyans, whose whole theory is built upon the necessity of having and obtaining peace, and who seem to think that there can be no false peace, and so frequently produce or continue it. The same is, in its degree, the case with the so-called Evangelicals (we may call them *x* to avoid names), and Dr. Arnold's theology, in which you were educated, has a good many *x* ingredients; and one of these is to look to joy and peace, or the feelings, as something in themselves, something to be analyzed, used as a criterion of the spiritual state, acted upon directly, instead of being a result, a reward, or an instrument to lead people on to more faithful exertion. I should not then make it a question, 'whether the words of encouragement or of reproof are meant to apply to my case'—i. e. not I think what you mean by this: for most, both are needed, the reproofs to quicken and to keep them vigilant, or to make them fill up that which is lacking and correct what is yet amiss, or deepen their repentance for what has been so. And so I should think that the fear of being a castaway was sent into many minds from time to time, or doubts whether they might not be falling back, to make them gird themselves up more strongly and press on more vigorously, and so eventually escape being castaways and obtain a brighter crown. So that I should think the practical way, when any of these feelings come over one, was to see whether one had relaxed in any plan of action which one had formed, or given way to anything amiss; or to sift things, which one was in the habit of doing, to see whether there was anything amiss in them; and to set about correcting these, leaving

' present rapture, comfort, ease,
As Heaven shall bid them come or go,—
The secret this of rest below¹.'

¹ 'Christian Year,' Morning Hymn.

One thing I think I can point out in your present mode of life, as unfavourable to spiritual comfort, and that is, the exclusive pursuit of a professional object. You say, 'I make it a rule hardly to look at these books, except on Sundays, and am as much as possible engaged with [my work] in some shape or other from morning to night.' This you seem to have proposed to yourself as a duty, as I did once in a somewhat similar case, when I was at work at Arabic abroad, and wished to shorten the time in which I was engaged in a study bearing so indirectly on theology; but I should say from my own experience, that the engrossing pursuit of any study is unhealthy to the spirit, because engrossing; that one becomes unawares engrossed with the means in a degree instead of the end; that the mind (as the very words imply) cannot be in that disengaged, free state, sitting loose to the things of this world, that it ought; that, in fine, it is an unnatural state, and so disarranges the mind, making it restless and unquiet, throwing it off its balance, and making it feverish and distracted. There seems to be a degree of self-will in proposing to do in a given time more than we can naturally do, which is chastened by consequent disarrangement of mind; if it is necessary for a given end, and that end is also necessary and to be accomplished by our means, then, of course, the self-will disappears, but one ought to be very sure of this, and then seek to cure it by other means—self-discipline. One very obvious one is continued mental prayer not to be engrossed by that wherewith one was occupied; but this will not do, if one is all the while occupying one's-self more than one ought to be, because one is then praying against the consequences which have been annexed as a warning against what one is doing. I should rather, in your case, recommend the diminishing the degree of occupation, and employing it, at intervals if possible, in religious exercises. An hour a day gained in this way would be an act of faith, and, if given up readily (supposing that under the circumstances, which I do not know, it seemed right), would, I doubt not, have an accompanying blessing. The observation of the ancient hours, or the chief hours of the day—9, 12, 3—if it were but short prayers (such as are in Bishop Cosin) learnt by heart in relation to the wants of those hours, is very healthful.

And now, since you have made me in a sort a spiritual adviser, I will mention two things to you, and you will not be mortified at my naming them, or at my having seen or heard of them. Not to keep you in suspense, I would say at once (with all affection for your general character) that there is one prominent fault, which people least like to be charged with, though so many have it,—over-self-esteem, or to speak very plainly, vanity. Knowing very little of your early life, I have no grounds, as I have no reason to judge, how much of a fault this is; nor could I say precisely on what it turned, what was its principal subject: I might suspect perhaps even 'personal appearance,' or something about the person or connected with it, was a subject (as it is a most capricious quality, and they said of an eminent linguist, Schlegel,

that he was vain of everything which was his, down to his elbow-chair). This you can tell far better than myself; whether it be this, or conversation, or general ability, or acquirements, or whether it floats about different things, it will in some shape or other constitute your trial for some time. And it is of course a very important one, because it has a tendency to corrupt everything we do by infusing self-satisfaction into it. It is easier to write than to say this, though you will believe I have some reluctance even in writing it; but having seen good sort of people in whom it has grown up even to advanced life, and knowing what a bane it is to spiritual progress, and a hindrance altogether, I could not but think it right to name it. It is often useful that a person should know that any given quality is perceptible to others; it makes them realize more the degree in which it is in them; and I doubt not that, in earnest as you are about yourself, you will set yourself vigorously to correct it.

The other point I have heard of only, and cannot tell wherein it exactly consists: it amounts to this—I know not whether in disputing, or speaking, or objecting—you have said ‘strong’ latitudinarian things, which have given pain to serious people. I could be sure that you had done this: I do not know how long ago it was, but I imagined it recent: perhaps you saw that what you said about the inscriptions on the Cross in the four Evangelists pained me. I should be sorry if you were less open with me in consequence; but there was a sort of off-hand, matter-of-fact way which pained me. You will recollect that I answered strongly, not as to yourself, but as to the school which used such arguments. (I have offended in this way formerly myself, I know; so one ought to be the more patient as to the same in others.) Now you have changed not only your habits of mind, I imagine, but your views in some sort on theology; you do not adopt those which we aver to be Catholic, but you have probably parted with some which you held, or hold them less peremptorily, or have modified them, and hold others which you did not hold. In a word, your mind has been undergoing a change. But this ought to make you less decided as to those points which you still hold, but which belong to the same peculiar school, some of whose opinions you have modified or abandoned: you ought, at least, to hold your mind in suspense, and not maintain, or give vent to them, except for the purpose of gaining clearer insight, not in mixed societies as matters of discussion, but privately and quietly. For if they be untrue (as you must suppose possible), then as far as this goes, you would be (though ignorantly) yet upholding or circulating untruth, perhaps bringing it to the knowledge of those unacquainted with it, or impressing it on those who know it, or retarding those who are getting rid of it. This necessity of uncertainty upon some points need not make you fear forming a sceptical habit of mind, so that you but distinguish between what is Catholic and private: having found one modern teacher in error, in whom you placed confidence, does not at all involve doubting what has been held, not by one, but by all. But,

besides the possible injury to others, you must do certain injury to yourself, if what you thus speak of is erroneous. For it is not the way to obtain fresh accessions of truth from God, to utter things which (though you know it not) are against His truth ; and the more, if they be such, as, if untrue, are irreverent also, and strike sober-minded people as being such. Thus I have seen cases in which the habit of talking against those who held what they called the 'literal inspiration' of Scripture, did the whole mind a great deal of harm and put it in an irreverent state : as, on the other hand, if it be true that there are great depths in the sayings of the Bible, and manifold truths may be evolved out of them, this way of speaking would indispose a person to receive it, and so keep hidden from him much truth. Secretly also, but necessarily, this theory involves regarding much in the composition of the Bible as human, as the theory of the Fathers looks on every jot and tittle divine, and the whole as in a higher degree divine ; whereas that other system unravels the divinity of Holy Scripture, some making the history, some the arguments, others the moral sayings (as the Psalms), others what does not seem to them good (as the Canticles), human, and having in the end no criterion of divine and human but their own private judgement.

My advice then on this head would be, (1) not to speak of any of these subjects for mere theory or argument's sake, but for edification ; (2) to put restraint upon yourself in mixed societies ; (3) (which is involved in these) to be very watchful for what end you speak of them ; (4) to endeavour to keep your mind in suspense as to the theories of moderns which you have reason to think *may* be at variance with the teaching of the ancient Church.

I have now written, as you asked me, 'very plainly,' and I trust, and indeed doubt not, that this plainness, which one would use the rather in correspondence, will open the way for unreserved intercourse, when it pleases God that we should meet.

CHAPTER XXI.

BISHOP BAGOT'S CHARGE OF 1838—PROPOSED MARTYRS MEMORIAL—PUBLIC LETTER TO BISHOP BAGOT.

1838-1839.

THE year 1838 was, as will appear later, full of anxieties to Pusey in his home circle; it was marked also by two public events, of no great importance in themselves, but very important in their bearing on his relation to the Oxford movement. Of these the first was the Charge of Dr. Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, in the summer of 1838. In one of the letters which Newman wrote to Pusey at Weymouth informing him of the state of ecclesiastical affairs, he told him that the Bishop of Oxford was delivering a Charge in favour of the Tracts. On August 14th he heard the Charge himself; and the first sanguine impression was succeeded by another. But in consequence of Pusey's anxiety about his wife's health, Newman delayed writing to him for a week.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel, August 21, 1838.

... And now I must tell you about the Bishop's Charge and the Tracts—it has been all the wrong way. He said in it that having been troubled with anonymous letters he felt it right to speak about a particular development of opinion, &c. in one part of the diocese. Then after speaking about observances, &c. in Church, and saying he could find nothing to censure, he went on to speak of the Tracts, and said that in them were expressions which might be dangerous to

certain minds—that he feared more for the scholars than for the Masters ; but this being so he conjured the latter to mind what they were about. It was extremely mild, and he has allowed us turning to the East, &c. (implicitly), and recommended Saints' Days, fasting, &c. It was altogether very good, but it did the very thing I have always reckoned on—took our suggestions, but (as far as it went) threw us overboard.

After thinking about it, I thought that since the 'expressions' in question were not mentioned, an indefinite censure was cast *over* the Tracts, and that I could not continue them under it. I wrote to Keble, and he, apart from me, agreed in this opinion. Accordingly I wrote to the Archdeacon stating this, and saying that a Bishop's lightest word *ex cathedrâ* was heavy, and that judgment on a book was a rare occurrence. Therefore under the circumstances I must stop the Tracts, and recall those which were in circulation. However, if the Bishop would be kind enough privately to tell him *what* Tracts he objected to, I would withdraw them without a word, and the rest would be saved. He said he had not seen the Charge before it was delivered, and referred me to the Bishop. I have had an answer from the Bishop this morning—very kind, as you would expect. I think (between ourselves) the case is as I thought. He did not fully consider the power of a Bishop's word, nor fancy we are so bound by professions (to say nothing else) to obey it. He meant to *check* us merely, not having a distinct view of *what* the 'expressions' were, and not duly understanding he has a *jurisdiction* over me. If he says one thing, I another, we cannot remain parallel to each other, he merely indirectly influencing me. He cannot but *act upon* me. His word is a deed. I am very sorry, but I see no alternative yet between his telling me to withdraw some and my withdrawing all. I suppose he will put something into his printed Charge to soften matters ; but I do not see how. He is, as you know, particularly kind, and I am quite pained to think that I have put him (apparently) into a difficulty, but I do not see how I could help it. (Keep all this quite secret.) *You* are quite out of it—first because your *name* is to the Baptism, and he did not mean you ; next, because I have excepted the tract on Baptism in my letter.

Ever yours affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Pusey was vexed—vexed at what the Bishop had said, but still more distressed at Newman's view of what it involved. He did not understand Newman's serious estimate of the disapprobation of his Bishop. This estimate was based on Newman's peculiar theory of the authority of an individual Bishop. 'My own Bishop was

my Pope,' he says; 'I knew no other; the successor of the Apostles, the Vicar of Christ¹.' There is no reason to suppose that Pusey ever held this theory; and it may be doubted whether at this time he even understood that Newman did so.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Weymouth, St. Bartholomew's Eve, 1838.

It is miserable work about the Tracts; I can scarcely realize to myself what the effect of withdrawing the Tracts would be: it seems, at first sight, likely to throw everything into confusion, and to produce a sort of electric shock. The withdrawal, in consequence of Episcopal disapprobation, is like La Mennais going to the Pope, the result of which . . . was that his principles were wholly given up by all Roman Catholics. The disapprobation will, of course, be considered as extending much beyond what it does; everybody will construe it to mean just what he wishes; the 'expressions which might be dangerous to certain minds' will be what every one does not like; it seems like a wet blanket cast upon all the fire we have been fanning, for it will be extended from the 'expressions' to the Tracts, and from the Tracts to the principles. It is not simply disheartening: it seems like a blow from which I shall never live to see things recover. But could it not be averted? I am fully persuaded that the Bishop [of Oxford] would be as sorry for it as any one, few excepted; that he would be shocked at his own work; that he would not like the responsibility; that he goes with us the whole way (as far as his reading has led him to clear his own views) as to doctrine and practice, and would only be startled at expressions about the Reformers which were views new to him. You recollect how distinctly he recognized the *act* of oblation. It seems altogether, if it could be avoided, that you are making him strike a blow upon his own principles, which he and every one of his way of thinking will be sorry for as soon as it is done, and which he never contemplated. (The Bishops of London and Lincoln I suspect would be sorry.) One should surely try to save him from it if one could. Then, also, in excepting my tract on Baptism (which I hardly see how it is excepted since I owe canonical obedience to the Bishop too, and my name being to the tract makes matters worse, not better) you have excepted what I suppose (with No. 10²) has been most objected to. Besides the main doctrine, there is the revival of Exorcism, limiting Scripture by

¹ 'Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ' (ed. 1880), p. 51.

² 'Heads of a Week-day Lecture

delivered to a Country Congregation,' by J. H. Newman.

tradition, and sin after Baptism. This, however, is a minor matter ; but my firm persuasion is that the Bishop never read, perhaps never saw the Tracts ; that he has had certain expressions quoted to him in anonymous letters, and meant to get rid of his anonymous friends, speak out, and give us a caution, and would wish us to be (perhaps he would say) more guarded in language for the future, or at least to give no handles to people. Then, perhaps, he has in his mind Seager's cross, to which he reverted since. Now there ought to be some way of escaping without such a decided step as suppressing the Tracts, and thereby perplexing people so sadly. I really can see no end of the confusion which might result, or any amount of doubt as to the doctrines of our Church which might not be occasioned by withdrawing the Tracts in consequence of Episcopal disapprobation. And it seems to me wholly gratuitous : i.e. that if the Bishop of Oxford understood us, and we him, it would be one of the last things which he would desire. (The evident pleasure which Bliss or the *Oxford Herald* had in putting the extract in, is a sort of specimen of what the moderate *s's* will do.)

I should much like to write, or, if it should not be too late, to call upon the Bishop (if still at Cuddesdon) when I return, which I suppose will be about September 12 or 13. I would have risked writing at once as having been a writer in the Tracts (though a very small one, if the Baptism be excepted), only I am afraid (at this distance, and without knowing what you are doing, or what the tenor of the Bishop's answer to you was) of making matters worse. He has always spoken very openly and kindly to me, and besides my relation to him as a member of his Chapter, I have been a sort of country neighbour¹ ; so that I could write anything, if it would not be at cross purposes, and so doing harm.

That Pusey's estimate of the Bishop's mind was more accurate than Newman's will appear from the Bishop's letter to Newman, who, it will be remembered, had been referred to him by the Archdeacon of Oxford. Bishop Bagot, though not a theologian, was a man who could appreciate in others gifts which he did not himself possess ; and he combined with a sincere anxiety for the well-being of the Church a frankness and courtesy which commanded the affectionate attachment of his clergy. Finding from Newman's letters how deeply he was distressed by the criticisms (moderate though they seemed to others) which

¹ i.e. at Holton Park.

were contained in the Charge, he wrote to Newman as follows:—

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

MY DEAR SIR,

Cuddesdon, August 20, 1838.

I thank you for your letter this morning: the Archdeacon had shown, or rather had sent me yours to him; and I can with truth say I have been much distressed ever since—not with the tone of your letter or complaint, for that corresponds with all I have ever met with from you, and tends only to increase the respect and regard I have ever felt for you since our first acquaintance,—but my distress has been in having given pain where I so little intended to do so, and I thought such a feeling could not have been caused.

I really think you cannot have fully or accurately heard what I did say on the subject—for, be assured, had I meant in any way to *censure* I should neither have taken that line nor adopted so strong a measure without previously conferring with you.

Having been myself repeatedly appealed to (anonymously) to check and notice what I felt sure were exaggerated or unfounded charges, and knowing how much misrepresentation was going forward on the subject, I thought (especially as I believe the subject had been touched upon by other Bishops) I could not, in the position I held as Bishop of *Oxford*, avoid alluding to it,—or, in point of fact, giving an opinion between your adherents and your adversaries. And when I approved so much, *censured* nothing, and only lamented things which from ambiguity of expression might, I feared, by others be misunderstood or misrepresented, I own—although I should not have been surprised at dissatisfaction expressed by those who differ widely from the Tracts at my *approbation of so much*—I little thought I could have given pain to the other side by the caution I gave them to avoid the possibility of misrepresentation.

I repeat, my dear Sir, my belief that you did not hear accurately what I said. Wait then, I intreat you, till my Charge is printed before you act upon any judgement you may, as I now think erroneously, have formed.

A hasty withdrawal would undo much good which has been done by those Tracts, and therefore lead to harm; nor would it be quite fair to me, as it would make me appear to have said or done that which I really have not. I can assure you I could mention names of persons whom you would respect, and who are great admirers of the authors, and approvers generally of the Tracts themselves, who have regretted to me the occasional use of expressions as being capable of misrepresentation, or of being understood by some in a way and to an extent not felt nor intended by the authors: and to this I alluded in the caution (for *caution* only it was) which I gave.

I shall be in Oxford ere long, and will call upon you, when I trust we shall meet as we ever have done, feeling sure you will not think that I ever intentionally at least gave you pain, or acted unopenly towards you.

In the meantime I shall be obliged to you to state to me by letter your impressions of what I did say,—but let me repeat my hope that you will not hastily take any steps founded on your present feeling.

Certainly no person whom *I* have met, or who heard my Charge, viewed that part of it in the light in which it appears to have struck you.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

R. OXFORD.

In sending to Pusey the copies of some further correspondence with the Bishop, Newman explained his reasons for wishing to abandon the Tracts. His letter throws into a strong light a difference between himself and Pusey which partly accounts for their distinct courses of action in later years. At the close of his life Pusey used to say that Newman had depended on the Bishops, while he himself had looked to God's Providence acting through the Church. To Newman it was a necessity that his Bishop should approve and support him: Pusey was not indifferent to such a thing if it could be had, but he did not exaggerate its importance, or make it a test of God's approval of his own position and work. As Pusey expressed himself in a letter to Keble:—

'August 23, 1838.

'One must expect principles to cost something, but the withdrawal of the Tracts from circulation, and that in consequence of a Bishop's disapprobation, is a tremendous blow, which one should be glad to avoid if possible. . . . Such a mass to be withdrawn at once, Catenas and all! The act of obedience ought to produce a good effect upon people. But it seems a gratuitous infliction, not upon us, but upon principles.'

Newman thought that Pusey did not understand his reason for leaning as he did on the approbation of his Bishop.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriental, August 26, 1838.

I send you what has passed between the Bishop and me; here things will stop, I suppose, till the Charge appears.

I am sorry you are so concerned; depend upon it, without reason. Nothing can stop the course of things but our acting against God's will. I could not have acted otherwise than I have.

I do not mean to say at all that my motives and feelings are what they should be, but my *reason* seems clear then [that] I ought to do what I have done, though it were well if I could do so with a more single mind.

And I do not think you enter into my situation, nor can any one. I have for several years been working against all sorts of opposition, and with hardly a friendly voice. Consider how few persons have said a word in favour of me. Do you think the thought never comes across me that I am putting myself out of my place? What warrant have I for putting myself so forward against the world? Am I Bishop or Professor, or in any station which gives me right to speak? I have nothing to appeal to in justification but my feeling that I am in the main right in my opinions, and that I am able to recommend them. My sole comfort has been that my Bishop has not spoken against me; in a certain sense I can depend and lean, as it were, on him. Yet, I say it sorrowfully, though you are the only person I say it to, he has never been my *friend*—he has never supported me. His letting me dedicate that book to him was the only thing he has done for me, and very grateful I felt. I can truly say that I would do anything to serve him. Sometimes, when I have stood by as he put on his robes, I felt as if it would be such a relief if I could have fallen at his feet and kissed them; but on the contrary, though from the kindness of his nature he has ever been kind to me, yet he has shown me, *as* me, no favour, unless being made Rural Dean was such, which under the circumstances I do not think was much. When that unpleasant Jubber¹ business took place, and I needed a great deal to cheer me, he wrote an answer to the Dissenting minister, but not a line in answer to my long letter. I do not say this in complaint, but to explain my position. If he breathes but one word against the Tracts it is more than he has said out in their favour, for he does not expressly give them his approbation, as far as I recollect his Charge. I *cannot* stand if he joins against me. Here is Faussett but yesterday writing against me; well, now the Bishop says a word. Is not that taking Faussett's part? Is it not by implication assenting to what he says, and deciding between him and me? What is it to me though friends of mine or though strangers think well of what I have written? I feel I had no business to be writing. I want some excuse for doing so, and instead of giving

¹ Newman's 'Letters,' ii. 55 sqq.

it me my Bishop turns against me. I cannot stand against this. Even if I do not withdraw the Tracts I see I cannot continue them. The next volume is begun, and I suppose must be finished; but I suppose they will then stop. And I do not see how I shall have heart, with special encouragement (*sic*) from the Bishop, to write anything more on strictly Church subjects. His kindness to me, which has always been great, is from the kindness of his nature.

It is very well for people at a distance, looking *at* me, to say (as they will) I am betraying a cause and unsettling people. My good fellows, *you* make me the head of a *party*—that is your *external* view; but I know what I am—I am a clergyman under the Bishop of Oxford, and anything more is accidental.

[August 28.] On reading this over I fear you will think me in a fume, but I am not. I have written the above rapidly, and it reads abrupt. Everything seems likely to be satisfactory.

August 28. (In festo S. August.) Yesterday Acland, who had been at Cuddesdon, brought back the news that the Bishop was uncommonly pleased with my letters, and would do anything we wanted about his Charge. This *entre nous*. I had copied out for you the correspondence, and had intended to send it. You now will know *all* that has passed, and if you choose to write as a mediator you can (but you should not speak as from me).

Pusey's chivalry of disposition always led him to wish to rush into the breach, when, by doing so, he could screen or relieve others with whom he was working. His first anxiety, however, for the moment was to prevent such a disaster as the withdrawal of the great body of the Tracts; and this he thought could best be effected by interesting the Bishop in the difficulties which the Charge had thrown in the way of republishing his own tract on Baptism. He wrote as follows:—

E. B. P. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Weymouth, September 5, 1838.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

A few weeks ago I saw in the *Oxford Herald* an extract purported to be made from your lordship's Charge, headed 'Tracts for the Times.' The object of the writer plainly was to show that your lordship, with all kindly feeling towards the writers, still found that certain of their expressions might in some cases do harm. I had hitherto gone on the more cheerfully as trusting that we had your lordship's implied sanction for what we were doing; and that though

your lordship was, of course, not to be understood as sanctioning every expression that we might use, yet still that we were, in a measure, labouring under you in the same direction which your lordship had received from those who went before you, as we from those who preceded us; and that we were, in whatever degree, advancing what your lordship wished to be the prevailing tone among those placed under your guidance, as we also are.

I could not, of course, expect that a Bishop, if he should notice our Tracts, should express an entire concurrence with them; all we could hope would be that he would approve of them in the main, and therefore I was very well content when the Bishop of Lincoln noticed them in terms generally favourable, for he was not the Bishop under whom I was placed, and to whom I owed duty and obedience; but it is different when your lordship speaks, for to you, as the Bishop of the Cathedral to which I belong, I do owe obedience, and any faint hint of your lordship's I ought to comply with. But since of all the Tracts those which I wrote upon Holy Baptism have perhaps been most censured, and as they embrace a variety of topics besides the one doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, upon which I know that I hold with your lordship, I feel uncertain whether they may not contain some of the expressions to which your lordship alluded.

I need hardly say that should your lordship be willing to point out any such passages or expressions, I would at once gladly submit my opinion, without seeking to qualify it, and think that good would be done by unhesitating obedience to Episcopal authority. But it may be that your lordship has only a general recollection that there are certain expressions in the Tracts which your lordship judged unadvised, and then I am in a great difficulty. For even supposing that your lordship should only wish caution to be used for the future, and not wish to direct us in any particular line, or to stop us, and that so I might be satisfied in my own conscience (as I believe I might) that I was complying with your lordship's view in carefully revising my tracts on Baptism, still there is difficulty in preserving the appearance of consistency. For, as your lordship knows, we have put forward what to these days seem high doctrines of the Episcopal office and of obedience to it: the opponents of the views we put forward have (contrary to their own principles) been calling upon the Bishops, and especially upon your lordship, to silence us; they will be sure to catch at every expression of your lordship's and stretch it probably beyond its meaning. . . .

I hope to return to Oxford on Friday, the 14th of this month, when, if your lordship shall be so pleased, I should be glad to do myself the honour of waiting upon you to hear your lordship's views upon the subject. We leave this place on Wednesday, the 12th.

I have the honour to remain, with true respect,

Your lordship's faithful servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

Pusey was not mistaken in thinking that the Bishop would gladly admit him to an interview :—

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR SIR,

Cuddesdon, September 12, 1838.

I am glad of the opportunity which your letter affords me of having a communication with you on the subject of the reference made in my late Charge to the 'Tracts for the Times.'

The explanations which you afforded me in the course of last summer having entirely satisfied my mind that all the rumours were false which had the object of connecting your views with anything like breaches of discipline, or the introduction of novelties or excesses into the public services of the Church, I considered it to be due to persons whom I felt to be rendering essential service to the cause of true religion, that I should give them such benefit as the expression of my good opinion could convey, that they were neither the ill-judging, nor the bigoted, nor the enthusiastic persons which their opponents asserted them to be. And more than this, I desired to add my own testimony to the general soundness of the views of the writers, and to express my sense of the value of their labours in behalf of the re-establishment of Church authority and the ancient discipline.

I endeavoured to do this in such a manner as should give all necessary support without any appearance of partisanship on my part. Having done this, it was scarcely possible to avoid allusion to the publications themselves from which all these discussions have arisen. Had I felt them to be erroneous or mischievous I should have felt it my duty to have stated my opinion; but I look on them as treatises well adapted to elicit Truth, and as drawn up with, perhaps, as little admixture of error or infirmity as could be reasonably expected in so large (and probably in some parts hastily written) a work, and therefore I should be exceedingly sorry to see them called in or discontinued.

At the same time I stated, and I would repeat the statement (not as a slur on the general character of the Tracts, or as desiring to warn persons from danger contained in them), that expressions are there to be found which are liable to be misunderstood or misrepresented, or which might convey a different meaning, according as they are used in a popular or a technical sense, and therefore I gave the *friendly* admonition to the *anonymous* authors of the works in question to use extreme caution in their writings, and revise carefully, lest their good should be evil spoken of, or lest they should appear to say what they really do not mean, or to imply what they do not explicitly say. I have no desire whatever to interfere with the expression of opinions, but I wish to see *that* which *will* be extensively read and commented upon as little liable to objection, as conclusive in argument, and as

exact and careful in phraseology as it can be rendered. My advice was *precautionary* and *prospective*, not *inculpatory* and *retrospective*. I think too highly of the authors and their labours in behalf of the Church not to be anxious to do all that in me lies, both to see them right and to maintain them in that position. I will now only add, with reference to that particular point in your letter in which you express the grounds of your fears that you might hereafter be charged with *inconsistency*, that I will endeavour so to regulate matters as to prevent your being placed in so painful a situation.

I trust Mrs. Pusey has derived all the benefit you wished from the sea air at Weymouth.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Most faithfully yours,

R. OXFORD.

The Charge was published, with a note which disclaimed on the Bishop's part

'any wish to pass a general censure on the "Tracts for the Times." There must always,' the Bishop proceeded, 'be allowable points of difference in the opinions of good men, and it is only when such opinions are carried into extremes, or are mooted in a spirit which tends to schism, that the interference of those in authority in the Church is called for. The authors of the Tracts in question have laid no such painful necessity on me.'

Pusey felt that the published Charge gave a different impression from the extracts published in the Oxford papers, and that the note accentuated it.

E. B. P. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Christ Church, October 30, 1838.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

I thank your lordship much for all your kindness as on former occasions, so now; for the calls which you were so good as to make; for the interest which you have kindly felt in my present sorrows; and for your wish that we should be set at ease about the use which, it seemed to me, might probably, or not improbably, be made of your lordship's Charge.

I have just read over that Charge completely (having lost it out of my pocket the day you were so good as to send it to me, and amid my troubles, not replaced it till now), and in the deep interest of the whole Charge, and in its keeping, what your lordship says about our Tracts looks different from what it did when extracted and put forth by the *Oxford Herald* and the like. I need not say to your lordship

that I am, for myself, perfectly satisfied, grateful for your lordship's advice, and for the warning to those who are more or less our pupils, as having had their views immediately formed by our writings, though ultimately by our Church, whose doctrines they are which we put forward. For it is to be expected in all stirring times, and amid the excitement of views to *them* new, though not in themselves, that there will be many extravagances; and it seems a great mercy that those views have not as yet (as far as I have heard) been mixed up with any extravagances, at least in action. How many have there been in that section of the Church which is opposed to us! Your lordship's advice would be very valuable, and, I hope, calm some of the excitement which I understand prevails among young men, and which seems inseparable from sudden change. . . .

I am resuming, at what leisure I have, the revision and expansion of my tracts on Baptism, and from my present circumstances I ought to be taught not to anticipate the evils of the morrow, but to go on quietly with my work, thanking Him for my 'daily bread.'

With renewed thanks to your lordship, and every earnest wish for every earnest blessing upon yourself and yours,

I remain, with great respect,

Your lordship's faithful servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

Another letter from the Bishop closes the correspondence. In it, as will be seen, the Bishop authorizes Pusey to deny, if necessary, that he had intended in his Charge to censure the Tracts. Bishop Bagot's assurances on this head were calculated, if not designed, to remove Newman's scruples.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO E. B. P.

Cuddesdon, November 10, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,

When I see the date of your letter, I feel quite ashamed of the length of time it has remained unanswered, but it arrived the morning I left Cuddesdon, and I only returned from Wiltshire on Thursday night last. This journey has made me much in arrears.

I think your remark on criticism a very fair one, although I have no apprehension of any one (even the *Record*) being able to quote (at least to prove) my charge as a *censure*—at all events, they cannot do so, as Dr. Hook says in a note, without making me stultify myself. I feel much obliged to Dr. Hook for that note, and entirely agree with him in all he says.

Should any attack or charge of inconsistency be brought against you, with entire confidence do I give you leave to use my name as

never meaning to *censure* the 'Tracts for the Times.' It might perhaps be well, if ever my Charge is brought against the authors, to apprise me of it, and my answer should set that matter at rest.

Still, I would repeat that I hardly think such an attack will be made.

It has been suggested to me that if a tract were to be written, *quite* for the *Poor*, about the Daily Service it would do good. The person suggesting it says, 'It must be restored some time, and the sooner the way is paved for its restoration the better.'

I franked the enclosure in your letter the day I received it, which I think was on the 31st of last month. With sincerest good wishes towards yourself and family,

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

R. OXFORD.

Before the clouds which had gathered round the Bishop's Charge had had time to clear away, another storm was discernible on the horizon.

'They talk,' wrote Pusey to Harrison, October 10, 1838, 'of building a Church of the Martyrs here, which, emanating from Golightly and Cotton, is nothing but a cut at us. So we, too, have begun canonizing! only instead of being done by the Church it is done by one or two individuals. And we are to have churches of St. [? Latimer], St. Cranmer, and St. Ridley. Well, τὸ δ' εἶ νικᾶτω.'

At first Harrison was in sympathy with Pusey's feeling. He was 'sorry to hear that the "martyrs" were to be made bones of contention in Oxford by this ill-judged zeal in their behalf.' He was 'not surprised at such a movement, considering how the Marian martyrs had been in a manner canonized in the English Church for the last three hundred years.' Shortly afterwards he looked on the proposal more favourably, and wrote to Pusey an account of its origin which might seem to have been suggested by high authority.

'Nov. 6, 1838.

'I heard the other day that it would seem in its first origination to have been called forth by the publication of Froude's "Remains," and so designed as an antagonist movement, as well as suggested by the desire to get in some way or other another church for St. Ebbe's. . . . Having had the opportunity of seeing more than, under the circumstances of the moment, you could do, of the temper of different parties,

I should scarcely think it right not to tell you how I think matters really stand. Froude's very disparaging expressions about the martyrs¹ have evidently stirred up a zeal in defence of their memories which I think one can hardly be surprised at.'

The project of the Martyrs' Memorial had really originated at a small meeting in the house of the Rev. C. P. Golightly. There is little doubt that it was intended primarily as a protest against Froude's 'Remains,' and the editors of that book, Newman and Keble. Oxford was already in a flutter. A question had been raised which would force the editors and those who sympathized with them to say whether they sympathized with the Reformation of the sixteenth century at all; and, if at all, how far and in what sense would they support the project of a memorial to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer? Pusey had not had a hand in editing Froude. But he was exposed to as much pressure as anybody; and he describes in one of his letters to Newman an interview which was probably a sample of many others.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Oct. 23, 1838.

Yesterday Harrison and Sewell, to-day Churton, called upon me about it. Among other things, C. says that he or they thought in the first instance that you had been consulted about it, and that they mistook what had been said to and by T. Mozley for what had been said to and by you. However, it seems that they are very anxious that it should not be a source of discord, and that we should join.

I told both that I would do nothing without you, for that since it had been spoken of as a hit against you, even if I should be satisfied with any plan myself, I would not join in anything which did not satisfy you. Further, that a plan to commemorate the Reformers now was at all events suspicious, but that as certain things had been said of course we could not join unless right principles were somehow expressed and embodied in the very monument itself; that mere general terms would not do: thus Sewell talked of their being 'martyrs for the truth.' I said it must be said somehow 'Catholic and primitive truth' as opposed to 'Neoteric.'

¹ 'Remains,' i. pp. 252, 394.

Sewell talked of a cross in Broad Street, which would be in many ways a good: besides that it is not respectful that carts, &c. should drive over the place where they yielded up their souls. Churton, of a church (which plan is not yet given up). I said in addition that it must not be the Martyrs' Church, canonizing them; that there might be no objection to a cenotaph, provided the inscription were a sound one; but that the church must be called after some one already canonized, not by individuals.

Both I put off by saying that the inscription must first be agreed upon. I half referred Sewell to Routh for an inscription, but withdrew, fearing that unless some one were at hand to suggest to him what these people were about he might not see through it.

Churton's plan, which he had called to show you, was for a church on the site already purchased for the new district church of St. Ebbe's, which by pulling down a few houses (which the Corporation talked of taking down) might be laid open to the end of Queen Street, and that it might be made a little cathedral with cenotaphs. Certainly splendid notions for these people to have lighted upon: one, a cross in the midst of the broadest street in the city; the other, a cathedral with shrines!

Churton's prospectus also was altogether sound, except that the first sentence spoke of 'pure and Scriptural truth,' instead of 'Catholic'; but then the next had Catholic.

Now what I want you to consider is, whether we should say that we would have nothing to do with the plan (in which case it *might* fall to the ground, if we were united, or it *might* be carried on by the Recordites out of the University (which would do no harm), or it might be done by weak persons in the University who did not see what was meant)—or should we capitulate, making our own terms? The *Record* may have its triumph for the time, and we might have the precedent for setting up crosses, instead of digging them out on Whit-Mondays.

I send you Hook's sermon, which Parker brought me to-day, to read in your way back; it shows me that my letters have been wasted upon him, for he will neither say one thing nor the other; nor say wherein he disagrees, and yet say that he does disagree. However, what he does say will do good, and perhaps keep some young ones quiet. What he says about Froude (whose name he does not spell right) is as much as you could expect.

As the movement for the Martyrs' Memorial went on, some of its supporters endeavoured to turn it into a demonstration against the Church of Rome. In this way it would, they hoped, receive a wider support throughout the country; and Oxford might be practically united in its favour. Harrison even hoped that, when it was presented

in this new aspect, Pusey and Newman might be favourably disposed towards it. Pusey, however, had made up his mind, and let Harrison know it without further delay.

E. B. P. TO REV. B. HARRISON.

Christ Church, Nov. 5, 1838.

My final conclusion about the monument is, that I had rather not have anything to do with it. Three years ago I printed (Baptism, Part III) that the great mercy in our Reformation was that we had no human founder: we were not identified with men, or any set of men: it was God's mercy that we had so little of human influence; now, if at the time the place where Cranmer and the rest suffered had been marked by a cross, this would have been very well: but *now*, let it be done how it would, those engaged in it will more or less identify themselves and our Church, in public feeling and impression, with the individuals. It has been altogether a very unfortunate business, as was likely, since it originated in wrong and unkind feelings. At the same time, while I keep aloof myself, I shall be very glad if those who can, would mend it: what I should like best would be a cross with an inscription, as I spoke of yesterday, or the like, *without any mention of names*. I think this might be really in the end a good, although (with the turn things are taking) I think it best to keep myself altogether clear.

Ever your very affectionate and faithful friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Deo Opt. Max.
qui
persecutionis Marianae
ignibus
Ecclesiam suam
his in terris
lustravit atq. purgavit.

You, as Archbishop's Chaplain, might do a great deal, and Sewell, one should hope. If it is to be, whatever of Catholicism can be brought, 'apponite lucro.'

I think the *ἦθος* of my inscription the best: besides, as S. Aug. says, 'non martyribus, sed Deo martyrum.'

A few days later Pusey stated his view of the proposal, and his reasons for acting as he did, with great explicitness in a letter to the Bishop of Oxford.

E. B. P. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Christ Church, Nov. 12, 1838.

I fear that we shall be thrown into some confusion by a plan to which, on different pleas, high sanction has been obtained—the memorial to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. One should have thought it very natural and a right feeling had the place where they yielded up their souls been inclosed long ago, so that carts should not drive over it; but this plan of a monument was *devised* only to serve as a party purpose: it was, in fact (as some of themselves avow), a counter-movement against Froude's 'Remains,' or, as one of them said, 'it will be a good cut against Newman.' It was intended to set the Reformers against the Fathers, and to set up certain views which some people identify with the Reformers against those of the ancient Church. I regret the plan, because it has seemed to me, for some years, the great blessing of our Reformation that we are not (as the Lutherans and Calvinists are) connected with any human founder, or bound up with his human infirmities: we are neither Cranmerites nor Ridleyites, but an Apostolic branch of the Church Catholic; and I fear lest this plan should tend to increase the vulgar impression that we were a new Church at the Reformation, instead of being the old one purified. However, the great interest in the eyes of some of the warmest supporters of the plan was to obtain a new church; and now that is decided against, I have reason to think that the whole plan would fall to the ground (which in the present state of things were best for the union of Oxford) but that people have got so far that they do not know how to retreat; they do not seem to be able to get either backward or forward to their minds.

If Pusey thought that the project would be given up, he was mistaken. Even had its promoters been willing to retreat, they had gone too far to do so. Nor were they able, if so disposed, to make the memorial a protest only against the Roman Church. It was, and it remained, an expression of hostility to the Oxford writers; and it had the effect accordingly of representing the Reformers as being in antagonism, not only or mainly to the later Roman Church, but to the Catholic Fathers and Christian antiquity.

The Bishop of Oxford, however, was naturally anxious to put the best construction on a movement which had the support of many of his clergy; and having been somehow persuaded that it had no party character, he determined to do his best to induce the writers of the Tracts to join it.

A visit from the Bishop and its consequences is described in the subjoined letter to Keble.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Christ Church,

First Sunday after Epiphany, 1839.

Last Wednesday I had a very kind confidential visit from the Bishop of Oxford, in which you also are concerned. It related to the 'Memorial.' He entered into very kind and condescending detail as to the line he had taken, withholding his concurrence while he suspected party feeling, and joining when he had satisfied himself, on diligent enquiry, that there was none. He then said, in his kind and painfully diffident way, that he wished I would consider (seeing that he was satisfied that there were no party feelings in it) whether I could not join it, that he wished me to talk it over with my friends, not to give an answer at once; but he repeated several times, 'it would be *invaluable* (laying great stress on the word) to the Church at this moment,' and that our friends (naming the Archbishop or Archbishops) thought so. He did not name you and N., but evidently included you both.

The result of a long walk and consultation with N. on Thursday was a letter to the Bishop stating my difficulties as to the inconsistency in which it would involve me, on account both of what I had said of the blessing of our Reformation not being identified with men, or having any man's image stamped upon it (Holy Baptism, Part III. beg.); and in my preface to the *Catena* (No. 81) on Cranmer's Zwinglianizing (p. 28) and the sad change in the second [Prayer] book (p. 30). (I give these references because what I have said seems to me stronger than what I observe in your Preface to Hooker.) Also, that I had spoken strongly lately against the memorial as *perhaps* falling within the scope of our Lord's words against 'building the sepulchres of those whom their fathers had slain,' and as unkind to the Church of Rome, in throwing a hindrance to her reforming herself and healing the schism. Still, that I thought I had a right to drop my own private judgement, and to act not as an individual, but in compliance to the wishes of my Diocesan; but that I wished this to be expressed somehow by joining my name with his, as 'the Rev. Dr. P. by the Lord Bishop of O.' I said, however, that this would only carry my single name, since, in your case and N.'s, too sacred feelings were involved for his lordship to wish to interfere, as it might seem to be abandoning your friend. (This was N.'s feeling.) I then proposed another plan, which would, I thought, obviate the difficulty and secure the object avowed, of a demonstration of attachment to our Church, as it *is*, undeceiving the Romanists (if any are deceived) and reassuring the country. This was to change the memorial from a commemoration of the Reformers into a thanksgiving for the

blessings of the Reformation. I had proposed, early, an inscription to this effect (which went through Harrison to Sewell, and was I think proposed by him):—

Deo Opt. Max. [rather Triuni]
 Qui
 Ecclesiam suam
 His in terris
 persecutionis Marianae ignibus
 lustravit atq. purgavit.

But as the plan then was a monument (and N. would not join a monument anyhow and I would not go alone: this last I did not tell the Bishop) we held aloof, and so things dropped through. I named also Dr. Routh's difficulty, that the present inscription was probably untrue in fact, since Cranmer suffered probably for the part he took against Queen Mary and her mother, not for religion. I named also E. Churton's idea, that the inscription should commemorate some of the chief blessings of the Reformation, though this will require a careful hand. The Bishop also has an amendment which he recommended—to introduce the mention of 'conformity with the principles of the Primitive Church'; so that it is to be hoped that the inscription is still open to alteration on the 31st.

I then suggested for his consideration whether the Archbishop, as Visitor, and himself as Diocesan (the subscribers and Committee are a mixed body) could not recommend such an alteration, and send an inscription, drawn up by themselves or some one delegated by them, recommending it for the sake of union. I told him at the same time that I was writing for myself only, yet that I hoped such a plan might unite all.

I showed the letter to N., who liked it, and though he wished not to be committed, he saw no objection to this plan of commemorating the blessings of the Reformation by a tablet in the church (the Archbishop and Bishop have joined on condition that it be a church), provided the inscription be a good one. And now I want you to consider what you can do. Besides the inconsistency involved in my subscribing, I felt the perplexity which it would cause our friends, and I should have been very glad if our three names could have been united with the Bishop's in the way which I proposed for my own, which would have explained the meaning of so doing in a way which will not be attained in the case of my single name. However, it seemed right to comply with what had been asked of me in that way by the Bishop, and I have no wish to detach you from N. and leave him alone. But I should be very glad if the other plan should fall in with your views. And this prospect of unity would be a strong ground for the Archbishop and Bishop to take, if they please, would show our wish of doing what we could, and be a grateful act to them. I will let you know when I hear more. I conclude from not hearing that he

has written to the Archbishop. I suggested in a way that Ogilvie might be deputed to draw up the inscription.

Keble thought that there were serious difficulties in the way of commemorating individual Reformers, as distinct from the general results of their work under the guidance of God's Providence.

REV. J. KEBLE TO E. B. P.

Hursley, January 18, 1839.

I cannot understand how poor Cranmer could be reckoned a *bond fide* martyr according to the rules of the Primitive Church. Was he not an unwilling sufferer? and did he not in the very final paper of his confession profess himself to hold in all points the doctrine of that answer to Gardiner? And is not that doctrine such as the Ancient Church would have called heretical? In short, I am not at all prepared to express a public dissent from Froude in his opinion of the Reformers *as a party*. If the monument were confined to Ridley I might perhaps think of it; but, as it is, I should require something like Episcopal authority to make me subscribe. Do you think the Bishop of Oxford is enough my Diocesan as well as yours to make it right for me to sacrifice my opinion as you have offered to do? And ought I in any case unless Newman does? On all these accounts I should very much prefer the other plan, but I fear it is too sanguine to expect the subscribers to adopt it. Anything which separates the present Church from the Reformers I should hail as a great good, and certainly such would in a measure be the effect of a monument of acknowledgment that we are not Papists, without any reference to them. As to its uniting people, I do not in the least expect it. There is a deep doctrinal difference which cannot be got over. But the great thing is obeying one's superiors when one really knows their wishes.

The Bishop of Oxford delayed his answer to Pusey, and Pusey rightly conjectured that the Bishop was communicating with the Archbishop before sending his reply. As soon as he heard from Lambeth he wrote to Pusey and enclosed the Archbishop's letter.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO E. B. P.

Cuddesdon, Saturday, January 19, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will see by the Archbishop's letter my expressed opinion to him that any degree of support to the memorial merely out of

deference to me would neither be satisfactory to yourself or to me, nor would it tend to good.

Do not then, my dear Sir, think that I would press you to take the step of subscribing, if after a full consideration of the subject you cannot bring it satisfactorily to accord with your feelings. But there are other modes open to you of doing what I cannot but think most desirable.

Let me entreat you, then, by the love which (in spite of the assertions of your opposers in these days of misrepresentation) I am convinced you feel for our Reformed Church, if you cannot approve the memorial, to make some declaration at a fit time, and in what you may deem the fittest mode—by letter or by publication of some sort—such as shall stop the accusations of your being in any degree hostile to the Reformation, enable your friends to defend you from such charges, and put to silence the Romanists who wrongly but boldly claim you as countenancing them.

As a general rule I would not recommend the noticing misrepresentations; but these are not common times, and I think there are circumstances which make such a course most desirable, if not imperative. I think you owe it to yourself, to the Church, and, though last, let me add I think you should do it on my account, lest while in acquitting you, which I have already done, of these, as I fully believe, unfounded charges, I might myself be supposed to sanction anything tending to the advance of Romanism.

I am, my dear Sir,

With much regard and respect,

Faithfully yours,

R. OXFORD.

In the postscript the Bishop quoted an earlier letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, stating his opinion that the editors of Froude's 'Remains' ought to define their own position towards the Reformation.

'The prejudice against the editors is very rapidly spreading, and I fear will deprive the world of a great part of the benefit which it might otherwise derive from their talents, learning, and industry, applied to the elucidation of religious truth and ecclesiastical history. In justice to themselves and the public, I think they would do well to take some opportunity of showing to the world that they are not hostile to the Reformation. I entirely acquit them of the charge, but many respectable persons will pronounce them guilty.'

The Archbishop's language applies in the first instance and primarily only to Keble and Newman. But Pusey would not separate himself from them at a time of popular

excitement, and indeed the Bishop of Oxford had asked him to make some declaration of his principles which would be a satisfactory substitute for supporting the memorial. Accordingly Pusey offered to write a public Letter to the Bishop of Oxford which should comply with this request. The Bishop would not press Pusey to subscribe to the memorial if Pusey was only going to subscribe in obedience to his wishes, especially if this motive for the subscription was to be stated publicly. And the Committee of the memorial could not at this period omit the names of the martyrs; while Pusey's suggestions to Mr. Cotton with respect to the inscription had not been acceded to. Everything then seemed to point to the public Letter as a means of giving the required explanations.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO E. B. P.

Islip Rectory, Thursday night, Jan. 24, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,

You mention that a letter to myself has occurred to you as a good form of declaration. After the best consideration I can give, my opinion is that it would be a desirable measure, and I foresee no ill which can arise. It will not bring *me* into controversy, meaning fully to adhere, in this respect, to what I said in my charge—viz. that '*into controversy I will not enter.*' Further, a letter will have the advantage (so far as you yourself at least are concerned) of doing *immediately*, and in a form likely to be more immediately read, what you state it is the intention of some of your friends to do by articles in a Review; and I see not how *I* can be involved in a controversy by any man writing a letter to me, which he may at all times do *with* or *without* my consent.

I will not go over the same ground again, or trouble you with my reasons, but I feel satisfied some declaration is called for, or will tend to good.

There are now friends of mine staying at Rome—sensible men too, and without *gossip*—and I am assured that the language of the Pope (as I am informed in one instance), and that of all the English Roman Catholics of rank residing there, is that of joy and congratulation at the advances which are being made in Oxford towards a return to the doctrines of the 'true Church.'

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

R. OXFORD.

Before this letter reached Pusey, he had heard that the Committee of the memorial had rejected his advances. It was therefore impossible to co-operate with the project they had in hand. But Pusey still wished to do something; he could not eulogize all the Reformers, yet he was grateful for certain results of the Reformation.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oxford, Jan. 24, 1839.

Our plan for uniting with the memorial has been proposed and rejected by the Committee, nor will they bring it forward at the public meeting on the 31st. It struck me then whether it would not be a good thing to set on foot ourselves what we wished them to do for us, and so get them or a good portion of them to join us instead of [our] joining them. To show at once what I mean, I transcribe an inscription which I thought might be placed in the church to be built. 'This church was built to the honour of the Holy Trinity, and in humble acknowledgment of the Good Providence of Almighty God over His Church in this land, and of His manifold blessings, vouchsafed to her at the time of the Reformation, and continued and enlarged at subsequent eras, from that time until now; especially in the restoration of the Cup to her laity and of a pure Liturgy and His Holy Word in her native tongue.' The church to be called Trinity Church.

'Subsequent eras' are meant to include the restorations in our Liturgy—Q. Elizabeth and at the Restoration. The 'especially &c.,' I thought, mentioned the things peculiarly adapted to be mentioned in a church. But I only send this as a sketch of the sort of thing I meant: it runs heavily, and I should be glad, if you like the plan, that you would rewrite it. N. has *some* feeling that the Restoration ought to be *mentioned*, and that it was cowardly not; but the restoration under Queen Elizabeth of the words 'The Body, &c.' was greater. N. said he had no strong feeling about it: I thought the mention of the Restoration would seem as if we wished to bring in a rival to the Reformation, and so would separate people off from us, whereas one rather wishes to draw them to think of the real blessing of the Reformation instead of the unreal.

The objects of the plan are (1) to satisfy the Bishop of Oxford and Archbishop and other friends who wish us to do something to set ourselves straight with those at least well inclined to us. (This plan of a church for a destitute population (St. Ebbe's, it would be seen from the Fairford entrance into Oxford) is (I know privately) just what the Archbishop would prefer.) (2) To set ourselves straight with the country, and open the way for right principles. (3) To protect our

friends in the country, who are now in a state of perplexity, not knowing whether to join the memorial or no (I had such a letter from Sir G. Prevost) : and so we hear of others who are partly falling into the memorial for want of something better, partly are stigmatized because they do not join. In the north it is a sort of shibboleth. Of course, one would ask the Bishop of Oxford before one did anything.

I thought of rather a handsome church, and so proposed that the sum to be raised should be £10,000. The Catholics ought to do things on a better scale than ultra-Protestants. If built on the proposed and purchased site, it would just terminate the street which diverges to the left from St. Peter-le-Bailey. If you approve, it would be a good thing to send up any promises of subscription.

I am (I believe) just going to write a 'Letter to the Bishop of Oxford,' explaining that we are not Papists. What we thought of was trying to draw out the *Via Media* between Popery and ultra-Protestantism. But I have not the Bishop's permission yet, though I have asked it, as a distant thing.

I wish you would send up your Anti-Papistical Extracts. N. has printed those from the Tracts, his writings, mine, the 'Remains,' the 'Lyra'; and I think they read very well and will do good; it were pity not to have yours.

Your very affectionate and grateful friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Keble approved of Pusey's suggestion. But he questioned Pusey's sanguine anticipation of their being able to raise £10,000. He promised £100 on his own account, approved of Pusey's inscription, and advised that a paper should be issued

'intimating that we should have been glad had circumstances allowed our joining the other [plan], but our view of history not permitting that, and some testimonial of the kind being thought desirable from persons so circumstanced, we have devised this plan of a church with an inscription to which we can conscientiously subscribe.'

Hereupon Pusey wrote to the Bishop of Oxford, asking for his sanction to the plan of a church, as detailed in his letter to Keble. But, considering the Bishop's existing relations to the original Committee of the memorial, this was impossible, as he showed Pusey in a letter on Jan. 25th. That letter obliged Pusey to give up the plan of a second memorial. Keble was 'not very sorry.'

‘Newman had gradually become opposed to it, and so,’ writes Pusey on January 29th, ‘was Isaac Williams, though partly on principles which I do not share, the wish to pass over the Reformation¹. For certainly, whatever faults there were, we should never have been ‘Apostolical’ without them. We owe our peculiar position as adherents of Primitive Antiquity to them, besides other things which I. W. would acknowledge. Perhaps I have mistaken him. However, I do not know but that we should have appeared to be in a false position, and to be insincere, taking up the Reformation to give popularity. So I am glad that things have so ended,—at least for the present.’

Pusey and his friends had no further relations with the Committee of the Martyrs’ Memorial. The work was completed, as all the world knows, in 1841, when the cross which stands between the Taylor Gallery and Balliol College, and the northern aisle to St. Mary Magdalen Church, were added to the architectural decorations of Oxford.

As soon as he had received the necessary sanction from Cuddesdon, on January 25, Pusey set to work at his ‘Letter to the Bishop of Oxford.’ It was completed on February 24, St. Matthias’ Day. It forms an octavo book of 239 pages, and it was written amid the distractions of preparations for lectures, incessant correspondence, and the ever-increasing anxieties occasioned by his wife’s critical condition of health. On January 30 Pusey wrote to Keble: ‘My letter to the Bishop of Oxford gets on slowly.’ On February 3 to Harrison:—

‘My letter to the Bishop of Oxford, as everything else, goes on very slowly: Newman’s is the most enviable rapidity; but he purchased it by early pains in writing.’

On February 22, to Harrison again:—

‘I have got through the subjects of Tradition, Justification, Sin after Baptism, the Sacraments, and Apostolic Succession, and hope to be able to treat more briefly what remains. But my letter will, I suppose, exceed two hundred pages. I have given a good many extracts from Newman to show *ἡθως*. Not having a speculative mind, I do not think that there is any likelihood of there being anything which will offend

¹ i.e. as distinct from the Reformers. Reformers and their Providential work Pusey kept this distinction between the clearly before him throughout.

persons who hold the reality. . . . I hope it will be quite popular. I have kept to the words of our formularies as much as I could.'

Pusey begins with an apology for defending himself at all: his first instinct throughout life was to act on the maxim that truth can very well take care of itself. The times, however, were exceptional; and it was due to the Bishop of Oxford to show that the writers of the Tracts were not unworthy of his kindness. Pusey insists on the vagueness of the invidious charge of 'Popery'; and then discusses the several points to which prominence had been given, whether in the Tracts or by their assailants, with the object of showing that the Tract-writers,

'together with our Church, held a distinct and tangible line, removed from modern novelties, whether of Rome or of ultra-Protestantism.'

Thus he discusses the relation of the Church to the Bible, as its guardian and, by the mouth of Catholic antiquity, its interpreter; justification as effected by Christ, and not by anything human, whether the faith which apprehends or the works which glorify Him; sin after baptism, as a much more serious thing than popular systems, whether Roman Catholic or ultra-Protestant, practically allowed; the sacramental character attaching to other rites than the two sacraments of the Gospel, such as absolution, orders, matrimony, confirmation—a character exaggerated by Roman Catholics and ignored by ultra-Protestants; the grace of baptism, wherein Christians are made members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven—a grace denied by ultra-Protestants point blank, and thrown into the shade by the position assigned by Roman Catholics to penance and the Holy Eucharist; the Body and Blood of Christ present in the Holy Eucharist—given, and therefore present independently of reception, no less than taken and received—a presence denied by Zurich and Geneva, but associated by Rome with a 'carnal' definition of its supposed mode, and with consequences held to be involved in it without any sufficient warrant of Scripture or antiquity; the necessity of an apostolically commissioned

ministry, as a safeguard against ultra-Protestant disorganization and lack of authority, and also against Roman Catholic depreciation of the claim of the Church of England to be a part of the Catholic body. These were the subjects actually put forward by the writers of the Tracts into a new prominence, as 'filling up the lacunae of a popular system, and recalling to men's minds forgotten or depreciated truths.' The questions about prayers for the dead, invocation of saints, and celibacy, upon which Pusey touches in the latter part of his Letter, had only been referred to incidentally by the writers of the Tracts, although great stress had been laid upon them by adverse critics. Pusey insists, in fine, that the opponents of the Tracts misunderstood the real position and teaching of the Church of Rome; that they were misled by the satisfaction expressed by some Roman Catholics at the revival of Church principles; and that what they attacked in the Tracts was not the real teaching of the writers but their own misconceptions of that teaching.

The Letter is well worth study, not only on account of its place in the history of the Movement and of Pusey's mind, but for reasons which give it permanent value. The discussion of the difficult question of celibacy, its high sanctions in Scripture and antiquity, its practical recommendations, as supplying the Church with free and disinterested workers, both men and women, its dangers and corruptions, historical and possible, may be instanced as ranking with Pusey's happiest efforts. In this Letter Pusey appears more distinctly perhaps than in any of his earlier or later writings as an advocate of the *Via Media*. The *Via Media* was the watchword of the Tractarians between the Hampden controversy and the publication of Tract 90. It is the keynote to Newman's 'Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church,' to his 'Lectures on Justification,' and even to that remarkable article in the *British Critic* of April, 1839, on the 'State of Religious Parties,' in which, he tells us in the 'Apologia,' he spoke for the last time as 'an Anglican to Anglicans.'

Pusey and he were in energetic accord as to the direction of the Movement and the principles on which it should be defended ; but the ' parting of the ways ' was near at hand. Already in their respective attitudes towards the Bishop's charge and the ' Martyrs ' Memorial ' we seem to see an intimation of divergence which was soon to be more clearly realized, at least by one of them. It was in the summer of the same year that Newman, while studying the Monophysite controversy, saw, as he thought, ' the shadow of a hand upon the wall.'

Pusey's Letter had its effect. It reached a fourth edition in twelve months. How it was welcomed in some quarters will appear from the following :—

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

Vicarage, Leeds, April 3, 1839.

It is impossible for me to thank you sufficiently for your Letter to my Lord of Oxford. It is calculated to do us here more good than anything that has appeared for a long time. It is too dear for the middle classes, who think much of anything they spend in books : I therefore wish you to give me two dozen copies that I may send them about through Yorkshire. . . .

I have advertized your Letter to the Bishop last week in our paper, with a little adjunct.

Ever, my dear friend,

Most affectionately yours,

W. F. HOOK.

But the Letter was attacked, among others, by Dr. Christopher Benson, the Master of the Temple ; and this, together with the criticisms provoked by Newman's ' Lectures on Justification,' led Pusey to prefix a long and valuable preface on the subject of Justification to the fourth edition of his Letter. Before publishing this preface he sent the proofs to Newman.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel College, Aug. 4, 1840.

I have no remark to make on your preface of consequence, except to thank you for the extreme trouble you have taken with me. If I must say something, I would ask whether you are not too sanguine

in saying that we are stationary. And my lectures were not suggested to me by any one, except the clamour on the subject.

Pusey replies :—

Brighton, Aug. 11, 1840.

Indeed you did write your 'Lectures on Justification' at *my* suggestion, though you of course felt the difficulties too. It was at my request that you set yourself to remove them. I have therefore left the statement [that the lectures were written at the suggestion of another]. It seems somehow a reason why you should not have all this trouble when you did not undertake it of your own mind.

The preface mainly consists of extracts from Newman's 'Lectures on Justification,' so arranged and commented on as to meet the objections which had been urged against them. Thus, although the words in which the doctrine is presented are Newman's, the order and method of the presentation is Pusey's, and has a substantive interest of its own. Pusey does not notice the question which Newman had raised with reference to his statement that

'it is ever the tendency of novelty and schismatical teaching to develop itself further, and detach itself more from the doctrines of the Church. Stationariness is a proof of adherence to some fixed and definite standard.'

He kept the statement where he had placed it, at the beginning of his preface, and at the time nothing more was said of it. But in after years Newman referred to it as an illustration of Pusey's 'confidence in his position.' To Newman himself, when a Roman Catholic, the Movement seemed to have been a steady impulse towards Rome. Pusey saw in it only an influence which restored the true meaning of the formularies of the English Church and quickened its faith and activity by doing so. Newman added, 'Pusey made his statement in good faith: it was his subjective view of it¹.' Of course Pusey might have said the same thing of his friend.

¹ 'Apologia,' 1st ed., p. 138.

CHAPTER XXII.

MRS. PUSEY'S PHILANTHROPIC AND RELIGIOUS WORK—
HER ILLNESS—CONDITIONAL BAPTISM—STAY AT
WEYMOUTH—PUSEY'S SERMONS FOR S. P. G.—MORE
ALARMING ILLNESS OF MRS. PUSEY—APPROACH OF
DEATH—TRINITY SUNDAY, 1839—SYMPATHY OF
FRIENDS—BURIAL IN CATHEDRAL—A LIVING
SORROW.

1839.

PUSEY'S memory is so closely associated in the minds of Churchmen with his work as a theologian, controversialist and spiritual guide, that the more intimate relations of his private life are apt to be forgotten. No one, however, who was admitted to the intimacy of his home at Christ Church could fail to be deeply impressed with the influence which his character and religious convictions exercised on all who came in contact with him in his domestic circle.

His religious seriousness pervaded every detail of the home life, entering into the very simplest relations with his children; and hence, in spite of the even passionate affection which he felt for them, there was probably a strictness about the discipline of the nursery and schoolroom which friends and relations, even in those severer days, thought somewhat overstrained. But indeed both parents loved their children with the deepest affection; and their correspondence, so far as it has survived, is full of the detailed and tender interest which they took in the development of the characters of their boy and two little girls. It is pleasant to read that when Mrs. Pusey was away from Oxford, Pusey

himself used to be with his children at the time of their saying their prayers in the morning and evening. During such absences also they lived in his study, adding probably to its normal confusion, but relieving the stress of his severe work by their bright childish ways. Sometimes however he would frankly acknowledge that he could not join in their games:—‘I do not find it in me.’ They were, however, always in his thoughts. Thus on one occasion, when himself absent from home, he writes to his wife:—

[April, 1837.]

‘I was very much vexed to recollect on my way to the coach that I had forgotten the children and my promise. However, I blessed them, as I did you, with that choicest of all blessings, “the Peace of God,” as I saw the cross on the cathedral presiding over and hallowing our dear home. Tell the children that I blessed them and thought of them much when I woke this morning.’

Until the year 1837 Pusey lived much in the same way as did his brother canons. But his many charities, and, not least, his generous contribution to the London churches, had led him as early as 1835 to consider the question of his expenditure. His growing sensitiveness also on the question of social duties appears from such passages in his letters to his wife as the following:—

‘I am going to dine to-day with Burton to meet Dr. Russell (Charterhouse, perhaps future Bishop) and only him,—to-morrow Gaudy,—Monday week Bodley dinner. *Eheu! fugaces labuntur anni* in dinnering.’

In the spring of 1837 they sold, as has been said, their horses and carriage, and in other ways curtailed their household expenses. All this involved some withdrawal from society; and Mrs. Pusey, who now entered with all her heart into her husband’s feelings, if she did not go beyond them, sold all her jewels, and gave the money to the London churches.

These particulars of Pusey’s home life illustrate the way in which he practically carried out his public teaching. It was on the Sunday after quietly selling his carriage and horses that he told an Oxford audience:—

'We confess of ourselves that we are a luxurious people, that luxury is increasing, spreading everywhere; that it is taking possession of our land; that we know not how to stem it; and yet we are secure, as if what has taken place everywhere else would not here, as if we were to be an exception to God's dealings¹.'

On the evening of the same day he writes to his wife, who was in Guernsey:—

'When we meet again we must try to live more like pilgrims [journeying] heavenwards. I am much perplexed by my own sermon: for I know not how I can act up to it, with our Heads of Houses' dinners. And it has come across me, had one not better give them up altogether?'

The London congregation which listened to him on St. Barnabas' Day, 1837, within a week of the sale of his wife's jewels, probably little suspected his moral right to make the earnest appeal contained in his striking sermon on Christian kindness and charity, in which he presses the example of the saint who, 'having land, sold it, and brought the money and laid it at the apostles' feet' (Acts v. 4).

'If all cannot be parted with lawfully, why not some? Why not some, not merely of our superfluities, year by year, but (what only requires faith) of our substance, so that we may be poorer in the sight of men, richer in the sight of God? . . . Would there be no blessing if our women broke off the ornaments (which it is at least safer for Christian women not to wear), as the Jewish women of old, for the service of their God? Is there no blessing on luxuries abandoned, establishments diminished, show of display laid aside, equipages dropped, superfluous plate cast into the treasury of God, the rich (where it might be) walking on foot here, that they may walk in glory in the streets of the City which are of pure gold?'

It may be that the clergy are sometimes charged justly with being merely rhetorical in the pulpit. It is a terrible charge: but certainly it is not one which could be laid at Pusey's door.

In this matter of charity, it has been seen, Mrs. Pusey was entirely at one with her husband; in fact, the growth of her character during the eleven years of her married life was a remarkable testimony to the strength and

¹ 'Par. Sermon' iii. pp. 311, 312. Preached May 25, 1837, in Oxford.

² 'Par. Sermon' iii. 385-387.

nature of her husband's influence. She had been before her marriage occupied almost exclusively with the social duties and enjoyments of a country home; and, as her earlier letters show, without those formed and intense convictions which controlled the later years of her life. Her tastes corresponded to her education and position, and she had carried many of them with her when she first came to Christ Church. Her letters show how all other interests gradually gave way to religious ones. Oxford interested her at first mainly through its social aspects; and it was inevitable that she should see a good deal of its society. As time went on, other occupations and duties withdrew her gradually, and before her death almost completely, from those early interests. She spent a great deal of time in educating her children. She was a regular visitor of the poor in St. Aldate's and St. Ebbe's parishes. She assisted the Rev. W. K. Hamilton, Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, in setting on foot a penitentiary and in other good works. She became a regular attendant at the daily services of the cathedral. She set aside a portion of time each day to private prayer and intercession, and to spiritual reading. She spent long hours of work at manuscripts for her husband in the Bodleian Library. She even began, with her husband's full sanction, a Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel. She always had possessed literary tastes; as she grew out of girlhood into womanhood her tastes steadily developed, and the heroic literature of the ocean gradually made way for Byron, then Walter Scott, Goethe, Schiller, Lessing. She kept fairly abreast of the better books that appeared each year. She was a Latin, as well as a German and Italian scholar; and could enjoy Tacitus in his own unrivalled Latin. Thus she was enabled to be of great service to her husband in the works which he had most at heart. She seems to have collated the Tauchnitz text of St. Augustine's Confessions with the Benedictine, for the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; and she it was who chiefly enabled her husband to contribute to Prof. Carl Witte those collations of the Dante MSS. in

the Bodleian which enrich his great edition of the poet¹. Writing to Tholuck on March 6, 1837, Pusey says:—

‘At last my wife and I have collated all the MSS. I fear that the papers are confused at first sight; for I did not look at the directions until lately, thinking that I had understood from you what was to be done. They are, however, accurately done, and must have been collated a second time for the sake of the orthography.’

Tholuck was very grateful:—

‘The collation for Dante,’ he writes, April 4, 1837, ‘has made me quite sad. You and your delicate wife ought not to do this. It is an act of loving self-denial, but the subject is not worth the sacrifice. Is not your dear wife’s health and your own time given you for much more important tasks? Certainly in such a case it would have been quite as Christian to have said that as no one could be found to undertake the work, it must remain undone. How grateful Witte is he will have told you in writing.’

Mrs. Pusey was also working at one time on the Latin text of St. Cyprian. But this was only a part of her literary work. One day she writes from Oxford to Pusey, who was in London:—

‘The darkness here about four was really oppressive, and the snow heavy. I could not see to read the print of the small St. Augustine by the fireside: I collated about two folio pages, and was then obliged to put it by, feeling my head uncomfortable. I met with three various readings. I then tried to do the Jeremy Taylor, but that was too much for my head. The Greek Testament I have not opened to-day.’

The next day she writes:—

‘I had a restless night, but got up at nine, and before ten was seated before St. Augustine, and worked at it till five this afternoon, without any intentional interruptions; but first the children came, then Henry Bunsen, then Mr. Mozley and his brother, then the Miss Biscoes, then Frederick, then Mr. Ashworth, and lastly the Provost and Mrs. Hawkins. By-the-by, the very last was Dr. Wootten.’

She had a dread of parading her literary accomplishments. ‘Dr. Spry,’ writes Pusey to his wife, ‘asked me whether “the *young man*” had done anything about the MSS. I said, “the person who was to, &c., had not been well, but will, I have no doubt, soon.”’ She was a great

¹ ‘Div. Commedia ricoretta da Carlo Witte.’ Berlino, 1862, pref. lxxiv. ‘Frai viventi devo moltissimo ai Sign. riv. Dott. Pusey di Oxford.’

reader, too, on her own account. In 1828 and 1829 her religious reading was represented by Pascal's 'Thoughts,' Shuttleworth's 'Paraphrase,' Jeremy Taylor, Le Bas' Sermons, Wilberforce's 'Practical Christianity,' Milman's 'History of the Jews,' Short's Sermons. She was always interested in reading the books of any of her husband's friends. On the day after Dr. and Mrs. Whately called, she set herself to study his 'Elements of Logic'; and, in the same way, intimacy with the Rev. J. H. Newman led her to read through, again and again, the earlier volumes of the 'Parochial Sermons,'—the work which unquestionably more than any other shaped the closing years of her life. The subjoined letter shows the thoroughness and honesty with which she approached religious books on religious subjects. She is writing from Ryde; and is referring to her husband's tract on Baptism:—

DEAREST EDWARD,

Sunday evening, Nov. 1, 1835.

After breakfast this morning I began Part II; since afternoon church I have read to page 80 or thereabouts. Some things I am not clear about, others (one or two) I do not quite understand; with the whole I feel unsettled and perplexed, but all *that* shall stand over till we meet. There are some things that come to one at once as truth, as soon as they are proposed, and those are the things that one really believes unhesitatingly. Other things (and your tract is one of them), in greater or lesser degrees, stir up against themselves in one's mind doubts and difficulties and perplexities. Mr. Newman's (I beg pardon, *John's*, I might almost say St. John) sermons are full of truths of the first sort, and perhaps that is one reason why I so like them; *you* will say that your tract contains new *views*, and that the sermons do *not*, but, to *me*, *they* also certainly did at their first perusal. Two more observations on the tract. 1st. What you say on the insufficiency of the common ideas of repentance is very nice and very, of course, *home-striking*; but I recollect at Cheltenham you solved my doubts on that subject by saying that a repentance, followed by a leaving off the sin repented of, or a doing of that, the omission of which was faulty, was a true repentance. I *half* think there ought to be something *more* than this, because one should hardly be satisfied with amendment, without grief and sorrow for having offended us, from our children; moreover, the words 'ye that do truly and earnestly repent' always cause in me great misgivings as to my own repentance. I see one piece of confusion I have made in the above lines, but still there is

some uncertainty left. Secondly, Would the early Apostolic Church, according to the tract theory, have considered all who had not been excommunicated as *not* having fallen from grace? (Please to answer *this* definitely.) Then, again, our confessions [in the Prayer-book] hardly seem to suit both classes, those who enjoy baptismal purity and those who have lost it, and yet they must have been intended for both classes. Oh, that you were close at hand, for me to talk to you!

Pusey replied at length, and concluded with the following passage:—

‘I see many reasons, which you do not, why John’s [Newman’s] statement of truth should be attractive, mine repulsive: he has held a steady course, I have not. I studied evidences, when I should have been studying the Bible; I was dazzled with the then rare acquaintance with German theology, and over-excited by it; I thought to do great things, and concealed self under the mask of activity; I read, he thought also and contemplated; I was busy, he tranquil; I self-indulgent, he self-denying; I exalted myself, he humbled himself. This will pain you, if you knew it not before, but do not contradict it to me; only pray for me, dearest, that this and everything else of sin may be forgiven me.’

During the early part of their married life Pusey’s own health was a subject of anxiety to his wife; but after 1835 he became stronger, while Mrs. Pusey sank slowly into the condition of an invalid. From that year she had a cough which never deserted her; and her life, speaking physically, was a constant struggle against the disease which in the course of five years brought her to the grave. It was her illness which obliged her to be away from Oxford again and again during Term time, when Pusey was obliged to reside. In November, 1835, she was at Ryde. In May, 1837, she went on a long visit to the Channel Islands. In April, 1838, she went to Clifton; in May to Weymouth. It is to her letters, written during these absences, that we owe most of what we know about her; and in them may be traced the progress of that weakness and suffering by which she was disciplined before leaving this world. Pusey followed her with the watchful and incessant anxiety which belonged to his natural character.

It was at the end of 1837 that her state of health first became grave. She had rallied in Guernsey; and she

spent the winter of 1837-1838 in Oxford. A new and heavy trouble was now awaiting her. Early in 1838 their son Philip began to show signs of some serious ill-health, the symptoms of which became rapidly more alarming.

'Poor little Philip,' wrote Pusey to Rev. B. Harrison, 'has been more seriously ill than I apprehended. Dr. Wootten has been here every day for the last fortnight. Philip is very tranquil, patient, and subdued. Dr. W. has ordered him meat to-day, which looks as if he were afraid that his fever would reduce him too low, his pulse being about 100. . . . His subduedness at times looks to me a sort of preparation for passing into heaven.'

A fortnight later Pusey writes to Newman that

'Dr. Wootten seems to think that Philip may very well get through the cold weather, and talks of his running about when the warm weather comes. . . . So there is nothing immediate. He even says that the disease may be stopped, though, beginning so early, there seems little hope that he will grow up to fulfil his wish of preaching in your pulpit.'

Another fortnight passed, and Pusey writes to Dr. Hook :—

'You will be kindly grieved to hear that Maria has a good deal of affliction now, some of which is peculiarly her own. She has a sister and a niece dying ; a brother in imminent danger ; and our son, though his recovery is not hopeless, has his chest affected, and we are not to look for any change for months, still less probably any hope that he will ever live, or, have strength, if he do recover, to serve in the sacred ministry of the Church of God.'

At the beginning of April, 1838, Mrs. Pusey was in London : her husband insisted on her consulting a London physician. But anxieties, the strain of which she was ill able to withstand, did not diminish.

'Philip,' wrote her husband, 'is not worse, but he is not better. . . . God's will be done ! And may He help and strengthen you, dearest, and turn your present affliction into future joy. "Heaviness lodgeth (with us) for the night, and in THE MORNING is JOY."

'I have told you all I know : perhaps what Dr. W. said would not have changed your thoughts : I have been looking forward to years in which Philip might mature for eternity. I do not know anything to the contrary now : but, when Dr. W. left him last night, he said in

answer to my question, "He is not worse, but he is not better, and that is BAD" (with emphasis). . . .

'And now, dearest wife, this is a sorrowful letter; and it is one trouble which you have from casting in your lot with me, that our children's lives are precarious at best; yet many a mother might, if she knew the real state of things, gladly have our sickly, and if it please and when it pleases God, our dying or dead son, before their living one. However, though you "must have trouble in the flesh," it will, I trust, all turn to increased dependence upon His Fatherly Hand, and so increase of glory. And when one thinks of this for you, one forgets all the sorrow, as you one day will.'

During the latter years of her life Mrs. Pusey was distressed by a scruple as to the validity of her baptism. She had been baptized by a dissenter: was she to be re-baptized conditionally? Pusey hesitated for two years. He had no difficulties about conditional baptism, 'looking upon the act as a dutiful attempt to supply whatever was before deficient; but he had a decided repugnance to using prayers which implied the absence of regeneration for one who for half a lifetime had been admitted to the Communion.' It has been impossible to ascertain the exact ground of Mrs. Pusey's scruple; but there is no doubt that it occasioned her very considerable anxiety. Between December 31, 1837, and Easter Day, April 15, 1838, she does not appear to have received the Holy Communion,—an abstention which in a life such as hers had now been for some time is full of significance. Excepting with her husband and Mr. Newman, she observed the most scrupulous silence on the subject; and the allusions to it in their letters are very few and guarded.

Newman first suggested that the Bishop might be asked to sanction a conditional baptism. This sanction was given in April, 1838; and Mrs. Pusey was conditionally baptized by Mr. Newman on Easter Eve, April 14, at St. Mary's Church. On Good Friday she wrote to him:—

MY DEAR MR. NEWMAN,

When I first began to have well-grounded hopes that the blessing now about to be bestowed on me would some day be granted me, I received notice of a legacy of £50. It was my wish, at all events, to

employ this sum in forwarding some good work, and I consequently offered it to the brother of a person in business, who wished to be educated for Holy Orders, and who was not enabled to accomplish this wish on his own resources. He, however, refused it, and now I venture to ask you to employ it, in any way you prefer, that may be to the glory of God.

Edward has, for several days past, urged me to write to you about it. I should have been glad of such an opportunity of asking for your prayers, had I not felt convinced that you needed not to be reminded how much I must want them at such an awful period of my life.

To this he replied :—

MY DEAR MRS. PUSEY,

Good Friday, April 13, 1838.

I feel much obliged indeed by your wish to entrust me with the disposal of the £50, and will gladly take charge of it. Your letter is altogether most kind—far more so than I deserve. Pray believe you have been constantly in my prayers, night and morning, and particularly this week, again and again. Let me in turn beg you, as I do most sincerely, to forgive me if I have at any time been rude or cold to you.

Ever yours affectionately,

My dear Mrs. Pusey,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

On Easter Day Newman dined with them : but he had already received a note from Pusey.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I know not how to thank you for all your gentle, tender kindness to me and mine, especially for yesterday, which also, perhaps, but for you, had never been to us what I trust it is and will be. I can only say with St. Augustine, ‘Retribues illi, Domine, in Resurrectione justorum.’ The accompanying book, which is meant as a sort of outward memorial, was Bishop Lloyd’s, and has been mine for nearly nine years, and been used by me during the latter part of the time, and so seemed, amid other things, to be the best sort of token. And if sending this book of our ‘Cognomenti Magni,’ and a confessor, be any omen, though one may not wish the days of confessors to return, yet if they do come, there is only one higher wish.

Ever your very affectionate and grateful friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Dominicâ Resurrectionis, A.S. 1838.

P.S. The book, you will see, belonged once to the Bibliotheca Scholarum Piarum. Perhaps it may, when God wills, to some school of the prophets in our own land.

The book referred to is the Benedictine edition of the works of St. Gregory the Great. In the first volume Pusey has written :—

J. H. N.
d.
E. B. P.
in gratam memoriam
beneficiorum quam plurimorum
sibi collatorum
tam maximè
Sabbati Sancti.
A.S. 1838.

To Mrs. Pusey it was the beginning of a new life : she marked this by beginning a new diary. In her now broken health the absence of doubt on such a vital point was ‘an unspeakable comfort.’ Her own words to Newman, written from her sick bed, may be quoted in illustration :—

MY DEAR MR. NEWMAN,

Thank you for all your kind thoughts and words of and about me. You comfort me more than you know of, and at Weymouth, where my bodily discomforts were greater and my faith weaker, I felt it was invaluable to me to know your sermon on a ‘Particular Providence.’ It has cheered and calmed a sick bed, and will doubtless, if such be God’s will, do the same when my latter hours approach. For that and much beside, *especially for one act,*

Most gratefully, affectionately, and humbly yours,

MARIA.

On Tuesday in Easter week, 1838, three days after Mrs. Pusey’s baptism, the whole family went to Clifton, whence they passed to Weymouth, staying there until the autumn. Pusey made the subjoined report to Newman as soon as they reached Clifton :—

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Clifton, April 19, 1838.

I would not leave you in ignorance of what seems to hang over us, or let you have it from a chance hand. A letter which Dr. Wootten sent open by us to the physician here conveyed to us far more definite knowledge of the ground of apprehension, and of the hopelessness of the restoration of our dear boy, than we had derived from what he had said to us. . . . It seems that the disease has been hitherto so slow that some time will still be left him, to be matured for his early ‘call to bliss.’

In reply to a similar expression in another letter Newman wrote sympathetically :—

‘ May God grant, since it is inevitable, that you may have the privilege of seeing him [Philip] fall asleep in the Lord ! ’

But Philip’s life was spared for many years, and although always an invalid and a sufferer, he was able to do good literary and other work, and his death did not occur until nearly forty-two years afterwards, on January 15, 1880.

From Weymouth Pusey had to return to Oxford in order to complete the work of the summer Term ; he threw himself into it with redoubled energy. One picture of his way of spending a Sunday may be given here. His brother, the Rev. W. B. Pusey, was serving the parish of Garsington, and during his temporary illness his place was filled by the Professor of Hebrew.

‘ Christ Church, June 5, 1838.

‘ I went over yesterday to William’s in the morning ; he had left his pony carriage for me, without consulting me, and gone back with his wife in a fly. I did not see much of him, for the pony was an hour and a half in going over, so I only arrived (waiting for the post and to finish my sermon till 9 ; I did not expect a letter, but should have been sorry that one should have lain here all day) twenty minutes before 11. In church from 11 to 1.30 (no sermon, but a great deal of singing, besides the Communion) : administered the Communion to a sick person : luncheon (which was my breakfast), and finished my sermon. In church from (nominally) 3.30 till 5 : two baptisms and churching, sermon three-quarters of an hour : administered the Communion to another sick person. Dinner, 6.45 to 7.30 : teaching young women in church : left at twenty minutes to 9. In Cowley met an old woman who had put down two heavy bundles in the mud, which she could carry no further, carried them, lost our way, scrambled through a gap, in getting down a like place she got a tremendous fall, and after walking up and down Cowley and losing my scarf, gave sixpence to a person to direct her and carry her bundles, and got home at 11 instead of 10.’

Pusey’s earlier letters from Weymouth in the Long Vacation show that he was again becoming hopeful.

‘ Philip is stronger than he was, though his more than ever stunted and aged form shows how deeply the disease has laid hold on him. Maria is stronger than she was, though her increased cough makes her doubtful about herself.’

He was thus free to take his usual interest in the religious condition of the place he was staying at. It was a 'great comfort' to him that the 'pulpit of this place is not yet occupied by Evangelicals.' The evening lecturer, a Cambridge man, was 'a regular Catholic in theory ; in practice he proposed a dinner party on Friday.'

'It is curious,' he writes, 'on coming to such a place as this to realize what strange half-suspicious people have of us ; not thinking us quite so bad as we are represented to be, but still not knowing what to make of us. However, three or four of the clergy, besides those of the place, have called on me. So my stay may, perhaps, be turned to good account.'

Pusey interested himself in a proposal to build a new church in Weymouth.

'Its site will be,' he writes to Newman on July 19th, 'an admirable one ; near the entrance of Weymouth by the road, and about opposite to a R. C. chapel : so there will be A. C. *versus* R. C.'

He also undertook to preach two sermons for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel¹. The S. P. G., he says, is 'unknown in these regions': he was to assist at the 'laying the first stone of a branch society.'

'I find it,' he goes on to say, 'very hard to be obliged to write away from books. I should like to tell them something of the right way of propagating the Gospel : and I suppose the S. P. G. has more of this than others, from the very fact of its having colleges or monasteria, as in Canada, Codrington College, Bishop's College, and I suppose the Bishop of Australia will add one to his "cathedral." If you know of any book about primitive spreading of the Gospel, or that of the Middle Ages, or of our own Church, I should be glad if you could send them me here. There is no hurry, as I may choose my own time. Does Cave's *Primitive Christianity* (2 vols., 8vo), *Stillingfleet's Origines*, *Bingham*, contain anything? *Mozley*, I know, would hunt, if at Oxford. I should also like to have *Wiseman's* lecture on *Missions* (has it been reviewed in the *B. C.*?). *Boniface*, the apostle of the Germans, was an interesting person ; if you will give *Mozley* the date he would look out the volume of *Gieseler* for me ; unless you know of anything better. It is a shame to give you all this trouble, but I hope

¹ Cf. 'The Church the Converter of the Heathen : two sermons preached at St. Mary's Church, Melcombe Regis, September 9, 1838.' Oxford, Parker, 4th ed., 1859.

you will turn off as much as you can upon others. Morris, of Exeter, said he should be glad to look out anything for me, and he might get up the subject at the same time for himself.

The preacher insisted on the truth, which Holy Scripture certainly attests, that the Gospel must be spread by an expansion of the One Body of Christ; the true Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was the Church as a whole acting through the organs which God had given her; and that the claims of the Society for which he was preaching rested on the fact that it, more than any other, endeavoured to act on this principle. The sermon abounds in stirring passages, which, even at this day, appeal powerfully to the conscience of the reader; it is difficult to realize their effect when spoken by such a preacher and to such a congregation.

Was the sermon to be printed? Newman must decide.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Sept. 10, 1838.

I hope you will not mind my putting on you the onus of my printing or not printing: it is become quite a habit to ask you about it; and your slightest feeling against printing is quite enough for me.

I should put a few notes bearing out some statements. If I print, what think you of a preface containing a justification of my implied censure upon certain societies: against the Church Missionary I should allege—

(1) Its constitution not under Bishops.

(2) Its not placing its missionaries under Bishops, as apparent

(a) In its negotiations with the Bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes.

(β) Its conduct towards the Bishop of Madras (Corrie), who complained that it carried on all its arrangements through the Secretary (Tucker of C. C. C.), and that he only knew of the removal of a missionary from one station to another, &c., &c., by the public papers. He complained very much of their mistrust.

(γ) I should say, if it meant to proceed on an Apostolic plan, it ought to send out Bishops to New Zealand and Sierra Leone.

(3) Its interference and the mode of its interference in Abyssinia (Gobat) and Syria.

(4) Its examining into the experiences of its missionaries before it presents them to the Bishop, and so going on the modern principle of trusting in self only.

The improvement in Mrs. Pusey's health whilst at Weymouth was very slight; and Newman pressed Pusey to take her to Malta for the winter.

'If you went to Malta you could have all your books with you; a steamer carries any quantity of luggage. In the winter you would have hardly any fellow-passengers to incommode you, and would hardly lose a day's work. When there you would be settled quite as much as in England. You would find probably Rose there, and you might instil good principles into Queen Adelaide, who deserves them. I am quite sure that in point of *usefulness* you would lose no time at all. They have a superb library attached to St. John's Church, and I doubt not the MSS. are well worth inspecting. They come from Vienna.'

Pusey at last reluctantly consented to go, if it were thought necessary. But Dr. Wootten would not recommend it; and his hesitation was warranted by the subsequent opinion of Sir James Clarke. They left Weymouth on September 12th; and having placed their little girls in the care of Miss Rogers, who kept a school at Clifton, they reached Oxford on the 14th—the anniversary of Pusey's baptism. As to his wife's health Pusey went on hoping against hope. She was examined immediately after their return. Pusey wrote to Newman to say that

'while things remain very alarming in themselves, it looks like an earnest of mercy, and that the prayers of my friends may yet be heard.'

On the following Sunday the real truth was known. Sir James Clarke visited the invalid. Later in the same day Pusey wrote to Newman:—

'Sir James Clarke did not like to tell me the truth. He does not think that (humanly speaking, since all things are possible to God) Maria can recover, nor that it will be one of those illnesses which last on for two or three years, although it may be some months yet.'

The last entry in Mrs. Pusey's diary, written in a broken hand, is 'Sept. 23, Sunday. Sir James Clarke came.' Writing a full account to Harrison on the following day, Pusey adds:—

'I told her of the prospect this morning, and as soon as she understood it she said, with a calm smile, "Then I shall be so blessed, and

God can make you happy." A calm came over her which was no result of effort or thought, but which came immediately from God. You will, I know, recollect us and her, hereafter, at God's altar.'

He wrote also a full account to his mother.

'Poor Edward,' she observed, 'finishes his second letter so like himself, not thinking of self: "God's will be done! ever! ever! My poor children! Yet He will provide."'

One other friend there was whose sympathy and prayers Pusey could not but ask in his great trouble.

'I have thought much of you,' writes Keble, 'ever since, but *how*, my dear friend, I can hardly tell you, except so far as this, that I try to pray constantly for you both, that your calm submission may increase more and more, and that others who may need it in their turn, no one knows how soon, may learn of you; also that God may give you health and strength to do yet much work for His Church; and I will continue to add a petition that if it be His Will He would yet raise her up, and bless you all as He best knows how.'

To which Pusey replied:—

'I do not know how to thank you for all your kindness and remembrance of me and mine, and your prayers. I knew how you would feel for me, and that you would pray for me, but this detail of your concern and the subject of your prayer for me was more than I deserved. However, we are not dealt with according to our deserts. So I trust to be made thankful for this as for everything. Yet you had comforted me before, and it may be an earnest how many besides you have been the means of comforting; for scraps of the "Christian Year"—"When the shore is won at last," and "Gales from Heaven if so He will," and "Who says the wan autumnal sun"—as they occurred to me have been a great comfort, and will be, amid whatever He sees best to send.'

Eight months were yet to pass before the end came—months marked by vicissitudes of hope ever ready to spring up, although unbidden, in Pusey's sanguine mind, but also by the steady progress of the disease towards the inevitable goal.

A week before the end came Pusey was comforted by the subjoined note, characteristic in its tenderness:—

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Whitsunday [May 19th].

I am afraid of intruding on you, and yet I do not like day to pass after day without your hearing from me. You know, should you

like me to walk with you in the morning, there is no reason why I should not come to you at six as well as any other time. You have but to send me a note overnight.

Hook has sent a message of inquiry about you, which I have just now received.

Pray tell dear Mrs. Pusey that I am continually thinking of her, and pray (what I doubt not) that you may have grace so to part from each other that you may meet again in peace.

Lucy and Mary had been brought up from Clifton to see their dying mother. The parting was over on Whitsun Eve, when they returned to Clifton.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[May 19, 1839.]

Anything from you must always be soothing, and is so. My six o'clock walk is at an end, for from four or five to seven in the morning is now her time of greatest suffering. I do not feel to want to go out, as one did in the winter: now, by His mercy, one has air at home. I am afraid of misleading you, as if I felt better than I do; yet I wish this to be a season of penitence, and it seems unsuited to interest one's-self for the time on subjects which would otherwise interest one (further than could be of any use), and on the one subject I cannot speak. I seem therefore, thank you, to be best alone.

I shall probably be glad, in a short time, to send to you a German who comes to me with a letter from Tholuck.

Our dear little girls left us yesterday. . . . Dearest Maria has parted with every earthly care.

Thanks, many thanks, for your prayers for us, which we much prize, and feel to be a great blessing.

Ever your affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

There is no answer required to either of these two letters.

My German is arrived: his name is Bethmann Hollweg: he is at the Angel and goes to-morrow; a friend of Sack; a Jurist; and 'an excellent Christian person' says Sack: you might set him right on some of our views.

To which Newman immediately replied:—

[May 19, 1839.]

MY DEAR PUSEY,

I hardly know how to answer your note, except that I will not forget what you say. But it seems to me you must not suffer yourself to suppose that any punishment is meant in what is now to be. Why should it? I mean, really it is nothing out of

God's usual dealings. The young and strong fall all around us. How many whom we love are taken out of our sight by sudden death, however healthy. Whether slowly or suddenly, it comes on those in whose case we do not expect it. I do not think you must look on it as 'some strange thing.' Pray do not.

Shall I write to Dodgson for his Tertullian? if you will give me his direction. Of course Cornish's Chrysostom comes out in July; but Baxter wishes to be beginning the October volume. We must have one under another.

Ever yours affectionately,
J. H. N.

Keble wrote to Pusey on the same subject: he found it 'more easy to write than to speak.'

[May, 1839.]

You speak of dear Mrs. Pusey's illness, compared with her former strength, as if it were something so very little to be expected; and as I know from remembrance something of the feelings of persons where an unexpected bereavement befalls them, I want you to be on your guard against *bitter* self-reproach: against that kind of remorse which I know is apt to come over one when a blessing of which one feels one's unworthiness seems taken away: a feeling, I mean, which would benumb and prostrate, instead of softening and quickening, our faith. Surely in such matters as in all others we do well not to think *or feel* as if we knew positively the cause of God's dealings with us. The tone of the Prayer-book seems to me so beautiful—'for *whatsoever* cause this sickness is sent unto you': without pretending to search it out or to encourage the sufferer to do so, with anything like certainty. The thought, that it *may* be for this or that, seems to be the intended way of humbling us. If we go on to treat ourselves as if we *knew* it to be this or that, perhaps we go beyond God's will. In your case, her untiring unsparing way of devoting herself where any good was to be done was such as to make what has happened very probable, quite as much so as in another case weakness of natural frame might. It seems so to me at least, and I did not feel surprise along with my grief when I first heard of it. Who knows but it may have in it something analogous to a confessor's reward? and if so, though I feel that it would not be possible to think of it without remorse, yet the remorse ought to be checked, and not permitted to grow bitter.

I hope I do not pain or vex you: but I could not be easy without saying a word or two, although I know how impossible it is to speak to another's heart on such a subject.

God bless you; do not trouble yourself to answer this.

Your affectionate friend,
J. K.

Pusey thought that Keble had mistaken his real tendency, which was, as he feared, to make too little of a great trial, not too much.

[Christ Church, May 13, 1839.]

MY DEAR KEBLE,

I must thank you for your kind and soothing note, and more for your friendship, of which I feel myself unworthy. God has given it me, however, so I may enjoy it and bless Him for it. Thank you also for the hints which you have given me: one little knows oneself till the full trial has come; but I fear that my danger does not lie that way: I much more fear that I should not act up to the extent of this visitation, than that I should feel it too bitterly. I dread my own love of employment, if I have strength given me: I dread becoming again what I was before: and yet probably I do not dread it enough. In a word, I find myself in the midst of a great dispensation of God towards me, which ought to bring forth much fruit, and I dread falling short of it. I know His 'grace is sufficient for' me, but fear myself, that I may fall short of what is meant for me, as I have before.

I say thus much because you and N. have much too good an opinion of me, and I wish you to pray for me rather among the 'weak-hearted' or those who 'fall' than among those who 'have stood' or even now 'stand.'

God bless you for your kindness.

Ever your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

I cannot help fearing that I am even here giving you too good a picture of myself, and of a feeling of excitement.

There was a faint rally during Whitsun week. Lady Lucy Pusey came to stay at Christ Church. On the morning of Trinity Sunday Pusey received a note from Newman, which assured him that nothing that could be done for him by the prayers of his friends was wanting in these dark hours.

In festo SS. Trin. [May 26], 1839.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

This, you will see, requires no answer. I have nothing to say—only I wish you to remember that many persons are thinking of you, and making mention of you, where you wish to be mentioned. Do not fear you will not be strengthened according to your day. He is nearest when He seems furthest away. I heard from Keble a day or two since, and he wished me to tell you they were thinking of you at Hursley. This is a day especially sacred to peace—the day of the

Eternal Trinity, Who were all-blessed from eternity in Themselves, and in the thought of Whom the mind sees the end of its labours, the end of its birth, temptations, struggles, and sacrifices, its daily dyings and resurrections.

Ever yours most affectionately,
-JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Pusey answered at once :—

[May 26, 1839.]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

My dear wife is now approaching the end of her earthly life. By to-morrow's sun she will be, by God's mercy in Christ, where there is no need of the sun.

Will you pray for me that she may have in this life some foretaste of future joy as well as peace ?

Ever your very affectionate friend,
E. B. PUSEY.

All was indeed over before sunset. The history is best told in Pusey's own words to Miss Rogers, who had been his wife's governess, and to whose tender care their two little girls were now entrusted.

[May 27, 1839.]

'I have little to add about the last hours of your dear child's earthly life : it was closed in mercy sooner than we expected ; indeed Dr. Wootten had not anticipated a day or two before that it would have taken place this week, although he said it might at any time. I administered the Communion to her between twelve and one that day : she felt her end approaching more than we knew of : she wished it to be as soon as it could : spoke but very little afterwards : and was fatigued by even that short service. Now all weariness is over, and she serves Him day and night. She became more ill about four, and spoke very few words afterwards. She was moved out of bed at her wish ; I think towards six I said the Commendatory Prayer : she thanked me, and said she wished to be quiet for the time. The next time I held her little cast of our Saviour before her she could scarcely speak, but made a sign for quiet : after that I know not how long she was conscious : a little before her departure I made upon her forehead the mark of the Cross, which she loved, and gave the Blessing, 'To God's mercy and protection we commit thee,' but she did not open her eyes. She was engaged in the struggle with her last enemy, who now is conquered. "Thanks be to Him Who giveth us the victory."'

When all was over Lady Lucy Pusey, with the true instinct of a mother, knew what would best help her son,

and against his first wish sent for Newman. A letter to Keble describes the blessing of this visit:—

June 5, [1839].

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you much for the soothing note which you have just sent me, as well as for your past and present remembrance of us. One does feel in these times something of the communion of saints: only she is purified, I not. God has been very merciful to me in this dispensation, and carried me on, step by step, in a way I dared not hope. He sent Newman to me (whom I saw at my mother's wish against my inclination) in the first hour of sorrow; and it was like the visit of an angel. I hope to go on my way 'lonely, not forlorn.' . . .

With every good wish for you and yours,

Ever your very affectionate and grateful friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Pusey's calmness and self-control are perhaps better illustrated in his letter to Harrison two days before the funeral:—

'God has throughout dealt very gently and mercifully with me, slowly and tenderly, as it were, unloosing my hold of her whom He had given me, and teaching me little by little to resign her into His Hands Who can provide better for her. And so now also He has been shedding round me a calm, which plainly comes not from myself, and which surprises myself. A slight momentary indisposition made us think it best that my dear mother, who had come from London to bid her farewell, should not leave us on Saturday, and so she has stayed on with me, against my original plan, and her presence has been inexpressibly soothing; so have Newman's visits, whom, with some reluctance, I saw, at my mother's suggestion, an hour after I had resigned her into our Father's Hands. And thus I have been carried on through these four days. There remains one more parting, out of sight, on Saturday at 11, when also you will remember me.'

And at a later date Pusey was able to acknowledge to Newman himself the comfort which that visit had afforded him:—

B[udleigh] S[alterton], July 16, [1839].

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

God bless and reward you for all your love and tender kindness towards us. I received day by day my share of it, with little acknowledgment, for words fail one, and one is stopped by a sort of *aidós* from thanking to the face for great kindness. Your first visit, 'in the

embittered spirit's strife,' was to me like that of an angel sent from God: I shrunk from it beforehand, or from seeing any human face, and so I trust that I may the more hope that it was God's doing. It seems as though it had changed, in a degree, the character of my subsequent life: and since it was quite unexpected, and without any agency of my own, I hope it is His will that it should be so, and that He will keep me in the way in which, as I hope, He brought me. God requite you for it all. It is a selfish wish to wish that one's prayers were better than they are: yet I hope that He will hear them, not according to their and my imperfections, but according to the greatness of the reason which I have to offer them, and according to His great mercy. I pray that He may make you what, as you say, there are so few of, 'a great saint': and I hope that He may give me τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τόπον ἔσχατον ἐκεῖ ὑπὸ τοῖς πόδας σου καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ, to use Bishop Andrewes' words nearly. You cannot tell how much reason I have to long for but *τόπος ἔσχατος*: if one did but realize it oneself!

Among the letters of condolence which Pusey received there were two marked by especial kindness, from Dr. Macbride, the Principal of Magdalen Hall, and Dr. Symons, the Warden of Wadham College. Pusey had been on intimate terms with both of them: the Hebrew scholarships at Wadham were a constant subject of common interest between himself and the Warden. Dr. Symons' letter may be subjoined, as showing the relations which still existed at this date between himself and Dr. Pusey.

Wadham College, May 30, 1839.

MY DEAR AFFLICTED FRIEND,

We have not been, and are not, unmindful of you. I have foreborne to say so before, because I waited until I learnt from Newman such an account as would seem to warrant my interference. Under the immediate sense of such a dispensation there is only one Hand that can heal or relieve, and there are boundless resources within its reach. But in due time others are provided, and may have their effects. Whatever consolation, therefore, if any, you can derive from the consciousness that you are much in the thoughts of friends, you will I trust unreservedly cherish. My wife at once, and more than once since, has expressed a hope that there was strength to hear or read the Scripture appointed for the Epistle on Sunday. But I feel that I must not say more. Only be assured of our deep interest in your present state, and believe me, always affectionately yours,

B. P. SYMONS.

Mrs. Pusey was buried on Saturday, June 1st, in the nave of Christ Church Cathedral, and in the grave already occupied by their infant daughter Katherine. The memory of that day was never long absent from Pusey's thoughts. Years after people observed that in walking across the great quadrangle to the cathedral, more than elsewhere he kept his eyes fixed upon the pavement. Many mysterious reasons were given for this; but he himself said more than once that he never could forget the pall on his wife's coffin fluttering in the wind as he followed her body to its last resting-place; and he did not look up lest a vision of that hour of agony should pass before him again and be too much for him.

He wrote the Latin inscription which, transferred to a marble slab, still marks her grave and that of her child. And he added below the ancient prayer: 'Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine, et Lux perpetua luceat eis.' This sentence cost him a good deal of anxiety. Pusey took it from the Breviary. Did Keble think this an objection?

'I have consulted my brother,' wrote Keble, 'about the extract from the Breviary, and he says that, as to his own feelings, nothing can more thoroughly agree with them. What the notions of the clergy generally might be, he cannot pretend to say. On the whole, I should say that I see no reason why you should refuse yourself the comfort which such a memorial seems providentially to confer. If Newman is not afraid of the effect of it in Oxford, still less, I think, need one fear it at a distance.'

To his brother William, who appears to have entertained scruples on the subject, Pusey explained himself somewhat at length:—

'June 22, 1839.

'You feel just the difficulty which has kept me so long undecided, viz. that the sentence is from the Breviary. On the other hand, I have no doubt of its antiquity, and indeed there is not a sentence in the *Officium Defunctorum* which has anything to do with the modern corruptions of Rome. This is a ground with me for taking this sentence, that I am applying only what has come down to me; whereas were I to modify sentences from the Psalms it would be my private doing and unauthorized. Newman had this feeling too; nor was I well satisfied with my attempt, whereas the sentence in question is very beautiful.

‘With regard to cavils, I had these in my mind not so much as affecting myself (for I am not in the way of seeing them, as I no longer look at the *Record*, &c.) as whether this could do harm to right views. I was determined in adopting this by finding that J. Keble (whom I expected to be sensitive as to a sentence from the Breviary) went entirely along with it. . . . For myself, I cannot but hope that of those who read it some will use it, as a prayer too, more or less consciously, and go along with it; and this would make me proof against any further result. It is also, as the space is left for my name, a sort of prayer for myself beforehand.

‘I hope too, if it comes to be known, it will be a comfort to other mourners: it is so unexceptionable and beautiful a sentence that it is likely to recommend itself: people will be thankful to have their own feelings sanctioned, and, may be, the rather remember me, as I cannot but remember Froude, who first brought the subject before me.’

Something more than a quarter of a century had passed when, through the enterprise of Dean Gaisford’s successor, Dr. Liddell, the Cathedral was restored. The choir was paved at its restoration with marble; but few earthly things gave Pusey greater pleasure in his later life than the discovery that, through the consideration of the Dean, the original humble sandstone slab had been left in its place undisturbed.

As years went on, Pusey realized St. Paul’s experience, that God’s consolations in sorrow make it easy to feel and express true sympathy with other mourners. Throughout his life his wife’s death was an ever-present memory, which enabled him to enter with a sympathy—at once thorough and sincere—into the deepest anguish of the human heart. On these occasions he often referred to his own experience. More than a quarter of a century later he writes to one similarly bereaved:—

‘Ascot Hermitage, Bracknell, July 19, 1876.

‘I have kept silence, because such grief as yours is beyond words; and yet, though human sympathy is vain, I have longed to say how I grieved for you and with you. It is indeed (as I felt those thirty-seven years ago) that the sun is gone down at noonday. I could but go blindly on, not daring to look backwards or forwards, but binding myself to the duties of the day, looking to Him Who had brought me to the morning to bring me to the evening. For you, it must be still harder; for the more one has around one, the more sad is the absence of that sun which gilded them all. Then, however,

I learned the blessedness of our Lord's rule (as all His commandments are blessings) to "take no thought for the morrow," and so one got on day by day. At first time seemed so slow, but, after a time, it began to whirl as before.

'God leads every one in His own way, and specially when He lays such a heavy weight of sorrow. But of one thing one is certain, that He, Who "does not willingly afflict the sons of men," must love much those whom He so afflicts, and that as the chastening is great, so is the love. In all that eternity He loved you and her, and knew how He would join your hearts together, and then remove her first, and so give you one who is already within the veil, and waits your coming, and in that abode of eternal love prays for you. We know the value of prayer, but we do not know what may be the special value of those prayers for you and your common children.

'How one felt those simple words of J. K. :—

"Who hath the Father and the Son,
May be left—but not alone."

'May the God of all comfort, comfort you, as He knows how.'

So, a few weeks after the death of the youngest child of his only surviving daughter, he wrote to her :—

E. B. P. TO MRS. BRINE.

[Christ Church, Jan. 1879.]

'No one but a mother who has had her last-born child taken from her can know what the loss is. What any one can say is so on the surface. And they grate or seem unfeeling out of simple ignorance. Everything must seem very hopeless to you. It was so to me, humanly speaking, when God took your dearest mother. I dared neither look backward nor forward. I dared not look back to those eleven years of scarce earthly happiness. Onwards life looked so dreary, I could not bear to think of it. So I bound myself, as our Lord bids us, to the day, and I resumed my work for God on the Monday after that Saturday when her body was committed to its resting-place. I used for some time (I know not how long) to see, on my way to cathedral prayers, the white of the pall wave, as it had waved with the wind on that Saturday at that particular spot, and I used (as I have done since) to say a collect for her as I passed to and fro by her dear resting-place, and I kept the hour when she gave her spirit to God. And so God kept me on day by day. It seemed as if I was in deep water up to the chin, and a hand was under my chin supporting it. I thought I could never smile again. It was strange to me, when I first smiled amid you three at Budleigh Salterton. Many felt very lovingly for me; but it was too deep for sympathy. It was all on the surface, and the wound was deep down below. I remember when dear J. K. came first to see me I turned the subject and spoke of other things.

He wrote and said he must have been very wanting. I said "it was my own doing, I could not bear it." So I lived on, my real self sealed up, except when I had to sympathize with deep sorrow, and then I found that my letters were of use, just because I owned the human hopelessness.

'But then, my dearest Mary, it must be only "human" hopelessness. Since God chasteneth whom He loveth, the deeper the chastening the deeper the love. And so God has some great work for you in you, since His hand has been so heavy. But He will, I trust, give you joy in your other children; but you cannot anticipate now what He will do. "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter."'

CHAPTER XXIII.

RETIREMENT FROM SOCIETY—DEEPENED TONE OF
PREACHING—A NARROW ESCAPE—KEBLE'S PSALMS—
STAY AT BRIGHTON—CRITICISM OF BAPTISMAL TRACT
BY AN EVANGELICAL.

1839.

MRS. PUSEY'S death had effects upon her husband's life and career which it is not easy to exaggerate. Perhaps no one but his intimate friend Newman realized what the blow would be to him. Writing to a friend the day after Mrs. Pusey's death, Newman says: 'It is now twenty-one years since Pusey became attached to his late wife when he was a boy. For ten years after he was kept in suspense, and eleven years ago he married her. Thus she has been the one object on earth in which his thoughts have centred for the greater part of his life¹.' To use his own phrase, from that hour the world became to him a different world.

His intense feeling showed itself even in the use which he made of his own house. During his wife's lifetime they had made great use of the drawing-room, which from its size, its southern aspect, and the view which it commands over the country, is one of the best rooms in Christ Church. After her death he never voluntarily entered it: many years passed without his ever doing so. He would not allow, however, this feeling to interfere with the comfort of his guests. When, after Lady Emily Pusey's death, his widowed brother came to live, and, as it proved, to die at Christ Church, the drawing-room was again brought into use; and Pusey, contrary to his own inclinations, was often in it. But after his brother's death he avoided the use of it as much as possible. 'He told me once,' writes his niece, Mrs. Fletcher, 'not to suggest it to him.'

¹ Newman's 'Letters,' ii. 282.

Although as a young man Pusey had enjoyed general society, even before 1839 the difficulty of finding time for his multifarious work, or of finding money for anything besides his large charities, had made him again and again wish, as has been already said, to withdraw from it. When his wife died he bade farewell to everything of the kind. His sorrow was a call to retire from the world. And, whether rightly or not, he never returned to it. He carried this so far as year after year to decline invitations to dinner in the chapter-house or in the hall, which he might have accepted as resting on a distinct ground from any private entertainments; and by doing this he undoubtedly incurred the censure of more than one of his brother canons. 'One cannot draw lines,' he said; 'if I accepted one invitation I should find it difficult to refuse another without giving offence.' He even had doubts about entertaining the meetings of the Theological Society at his house.

'I shrink at present,' he writes to Newman on August 27, 1839, 'from anything which involves a return to former habits; and opening one's house in the evening would involve all sorts of business, visiting, &c. One could hardly consistently avoid it. On the other hand, it would be good to resume it soon, and that perhaps the rather because I could read my paper on Pelagianism.'

Pusey was not blind to the disadvantages of a life of such complete retirement as his henceforth became. But he took his course for reasons which such considerations did not touch, while, on the other hand, he 'did not wish to condemn others who had not been called out of the world by a great sorrow.' But the crape which he wore on his hat to the end of his life, and the crape scarf which he always used when attending the cathedral service, were symbols of the new mode of life which befitted a sorrow that could only end with death. To all who could understand the higher pathos of human experience, his new habits of complete retirement from the world suggested the appeal of the old saint of patience: 'Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends; for the hand of God hath touched me ¹.'

¹ Job xix. 21.

Pusey's sorrow threw him back on himself and on God. His first disposition was to see in his bereavement only a punishment for past sin. Keble and Newman both warned him against this exaggerated feeling, and against regarding his case as exceptional. It led him to review his work in past years more unsparingly than ever before. In the summer of 1839 Blanco White's lapse into complete infidelity was reported in Oxford; and Pusey bitterly reproached himself for the encouragement which his book on German Rationalism might have given to that distinguished but unhappy Spaniard in his downward spiritual career. Later in the summer Newman reported to Pusey: 'Strauss's book is said to be doing harm at Cambridge: the only way to meet it is by your work on Types.' Pusey could only see in this circumstance another reason for recollecting the influence of his own work on German theology.

'It is very shocking,' he writes to Newman, 'that Strauss's book should be doing harm at Cambridge, or that, without any practical end, they should be even reading it. I know nothing, except from general report, about it; so I cannot imagine in what way it is doing harm. For we cannot imagine that any there should not be offended with it as a whole, such as it is described. My lectures on Types are incomplete, even as relates to the Pentateuch: for of all the Types of the Levitical worship I had only got through the chief sacrifices. I should be glad to do something for Cambridge, for I fear my book on Germany did harm there.'

This sad crisis in his life could not but influence also his preaching. From this time forward the nothingness of this world, the disciplinary value as well as the atoning power of the Cross, the awfulness and reality of the Day of Judgment, assume a new prominence in his sermons. His first sermon after his bereavement was preached at Budleigh Salterton: it was on 'The Cross borne for us and in us¹.' Then at Brighton, on the 13th of October, he preached one of the most remarkable and searching of his sermons—on the Day of Judgment; and on returning to Oxford he preached, before the University, on the real lessons of the Book of Ecclesiastes, so often misunderstood. The text was Eccl.

¹ 'Parochial Sermons,' vol. iii. serm. 3.

xii. 13. The scene produced by one passage in the sermon has been graphically described by the Rev. J. B. Mozley:—

‘Pusey preached last Sunday, the first time in Oxford since his wife’s death. When he came to the last sentence of the prayer before the sermon, in which the dead are mentioned, he came to a complete standstill, and I thought would never have gone on. He has very little mastery over his feelings. In the course of the sermon there was a piece of friendly advice given to the Heads of Houses, for which they would not be much obliged to him. He had been talking of increase of luxury amongst the undergraduates of late years, from which he took occasion to say that those *in station* might do well to live more simply than they did. He dropped his voice at this part, which had the effect of course of giving increased solemnity to the admonition; for there was breathless silence in the church at the time¹.’

The passage uttered in a low tone runs as follows:—

‘It is miserable to think that, amidst much real improvement, luxury in this favoured place has even within these last fifteen years much increased, that it is increasing, and yet that it is selfishness, the path to forgetfulness of God, the special hardener of the heart and the minister to other sin. And (may it be said with real reverence for some yet older than myself, both for their persons and office?) might not those in our station benefit both ourselves and others by returning to the greater simplicity of times not long past, and whose memory is still vivid, and from which we have departed by assimilating ourselves to the world? Can we expect the luxuries which are enervating and injuring our youth to be abandoned until our own habits are simpler?’

Pusey wrote to Dr. Gilbert, the Principal of Brasenose, who was then Vice-Chancellor, about some unimportant misunderstanding respecting the entrance of the procession into church, and he took the occasion to express a hope that his plain speaking had not given offence.

‘I cannot conceive any one,’ said the Vice-Chancellor, ‘taking offence at what you said, in allusion to some habits of expense among ourselves. I believe there are few if any among us who do not agree with you on that point; at least, I can say I have heard the subject several times mentioned, and always with regret at least, if not condemnation of it.’

After his wife’s funeral Pusey remained in Oxford in

¹ ‘Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley’: Letter to his Sister (p. 94), Nov. 24, 1839.

close seclusion, and occupied himself mainly in finishing the second and enlarged edition of the first of his three tracts on Holy Baptism. On July 1st he reached Brighton, his intention being to take his boy Philip by coach from Brighton to Portsmouth, and thence by steamer to Torquay, on their way to Budleigh Salterton. They left Brighton in the early morning of July 2nd, but at Arundel an unfortunate accident occurred: Pusey and his son were very nearly killed by being thrown off the coach. The incident is described by Pusey in a letter to his mother.

E. B. P. TO LADY LUCY PUSEY.

Arundel, July 2, [1839].

There is nothing amiss, although I write from this place. We have had, however, what might have been a very bad accident: I took Philip on my knee to show him Arundel Castle; and I was putting him back on the seat when the coach turned, and we both fell off. We are both feeling not much amiss: he has been talking very briskly, and says he is quite well, and was asking me just now whether when I was well (he meant some stiffness of my neck) I would take him to see the cathedral (having imagined from the milestones that we were at Chichester).

As the surgeon wished to take blood, or at least put leeches on poor Philip, I thought it most satisfactory to write to Dr. Price to ask him or Mr. Taylor (the surgeon and apothecary who has been attending him) to come over. I feel no inconvenience more than the back of my neck being very stiff; we both fell on our heads: I on the top of my head, Philip on his forehead; Philip became insensible for a time; I, not; my hat broke my fall. Altogether it is a very great mercy of God. Had Philip seemed as well as he does now, I might have doubted about sending for Dr. Price; but I am glad I did; it will be more satisfactory. At first the people about told me that 'the child was killed,' and I thought so till I heard him cry a little.

Our further proceedings will, of course, depend upon Dr. Price; we might go back to Brighton, or go on; or should we stay here, I have friends in the neighbourhood.

It is now rather more than three hours since the accident, so that I may say confidently that we are not likely to suffer materially. I will write again, please God, to-morrow.

You will thank God for us, my dear mother.

Kindest love to all.

Ever your very affectionate and dutiful son,

E. B. PUSEY.

Philip sends his duty and love to you: (I told him I was writing) and thanks you for sending him your love.

They remained at Arundel for two days. On the 4th Pusey writes: 'Philip is apparently as if nothing had happened; he himself says that he has no feeling about him different from before.' Pusey himself was much shaken. But on the 5th Dr. Price, their medical adviser, allowed them to continue their journey. He added:—

'Truly indeed may you say "by God's great mercy" you and your dear boy have escaped with your lives from such imminent danger.'

At Portsmouth Pusey wrote again to his mother: the anxiety about Philip had passed, and his thoughts resumed what had been their natural course since his sorrow.

E. B. P. TO LADY LUCY PUSEY.

Portsmouth, July 5, 1839.

. . . The journey has been full of associations. At Brighton, and between Brighton and Worthing, I could see her riding as in her days of health, and here our chief stay was when we were returning from the Isle of Wight, where we had been for my health. God grant that I may not lose the fruit of His mercies, whether chastening or sparing.

When they reached Budleigh Salterton, Pusey writes of his children, now for the first time reassembled since their mother's death.

E. B. P. TO REV. W. B. PUSEY.

Budleigh Salterton, July 9, 1839.

Dearest Lucy is quite subdued, patient, gentle, unrepining, unselfish, but completely struck down: she feels and bears her loss just as one three times her age might: she realizes it, and bears it, as God's Hand and in faith in Him. It would seem as if it had been permitted that her dear mind should be thus early developed in order that this dispensation might not pass off, as it would with most of her years, but that it may be blessed to her. She seems to have ceased to be a child, never again to be one; her thoughts, feelings, language, tenderness, her very walk and manner, are no longer that of a child. I find that she is looking forward to Confirmation (this appeared from her asking whether there was anything wrong in looking forward), and this must be very much the working of her own mind. It may be that God is ripening her early, to close her trials soon; it seems most probable: one has no claim to expect anything else; and it will have been an unspeakable mercy to see her so ripened and safe (if I do see it). Dear little Mary seems quite well again; her buoyant spirits are

a great contrast to her sister's subdued frame ; but it is all natural in her. Poor Philip is lame as well as deaf, yet he enjoys being drawn in a chair. It is a nice quiet place, with very good air.

Pusey set himself at once to work. He wrote to his brother William, who was acting as curate at Garsington, a long list of enquiries about books and references which would have given a young clergyman plenty of occupation for several mornings. The following letter too would remind him how much there was to be done, if such a reminder had been necessary.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

Oxford, July 14, 1839.

Your letter was a great comfort to us, and was very kind. Certainly your and Philip's escape has been most marvellous, and we should be very thankful. I will try to say in brief many things. Your Letter (2nd ed.) to the Bishop is nearly out of print, and Parker wants to know about reprinting it. The first editions of St. Augustine and St. Cyril are nearly out of print, and of St. Cyprian will be soon. Parker says you must prepare for a new edition. He is very decided as a matter of *business* that Keble's half volume should come out. He says the oftener volumes come out the better. It can come out by August 1,—if we wait for 600 pages, not till October 1. He says it is important too for the sale to have smaller volumes than 600 pages, if possible—and volumes all of a size. For myself, I am perfectly sure that we cannot get through four 600 page volumes in a year. We have begun Fleury. I have set Christie upon it. Two volumes are to come out first. I have been much taken with the very graphic and striking character of the Acts of Chalcedon, and think one or two very interesting volumes of the Library might be made from the Four First Councils. You have had sent to you from Wales a translation of Chrysostom's *de Sacerdotio* : your brother opened it and sent it to me. I shall acknowledge it. Mr. Jones of Beaumaris is the author. Copeland promises to bring me his translation of the Ephesians in a few days. It shall go to press at once. I bury to-day that poor youth, who has died sooner than I expected. Keble's Psalms have run out their first edition of 1,000 (in four weeks).

With this metrical version of the Psalter, Pusey had been closely associated from the first. The production of such a version, which might be true to the requirements of poetry, but above all things true to the sacred original, had been for some years an object on which Keble had set his heart.

‘If I can but succeed,’ he wrote to Pusey, ‘in keeping out one irreverent hymn, I should think it worth a good deal of trouble.’ He regarded his own efforts as those of a ‘very indifferent Hebraist,’ and his manuscripts would never have seen the light but for Pusey’s importunity and assistance.

At intervals between 1836 and 1838 the Psalms were sent singly or in small *fasciculi* to Oxford; every expression which was at variance with Pusey’s sense of the meaning of the original was ruthlessly sacrificed, at whatever cost to the rhythm or rhyme, and Keble had to assimilate the correction as best he might with his version. The last correction was made on August 22, 1838. The result was a version which, although metrical, was in point of faithfulness to the Hebrew without a rival in the English language. ‘Its characteristic is literalness’; through large portions of the Psalms ‘it treads step by step with the sacred text’; the author ‘is able, simply by a varied disposition of the words, to arrange them in a metrical form, without even paraphrasing them.’ Thus, in a most remarkable way, Keble’s work is free from the defects which generally attach to a metrical version; indeed, in some respects it is a more accurate rendering of the Hebrew than the Authorized Version itself.

The book was printed early in 1839. On ‘St. Philip and St. James’ Day’ Pusey wrote to Bishop Bagot, asking him to license it. He, without noticing the particular form of the request, allowed the book to be dedicated to him, suggested that Mr. Keble should put his name on the title-page, and gently rebuked Pusey for dating his letter by the Saint’s day. Pusey applied to Dr. Bandinel, the Bodleian Librarian, to discover ‘whether there was any precedent for a Bishop’s licensing books in our Church. He could only find that the Archbishop and the Bishop of London together did.’ Keble thereupon suggested two forms of dedication, both of which implied that the Bishop licensed them for use in his diocese; and Pusey transmitted them with the subjoined letter.

E. B. P. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Christ Church, May 13, 1839.

In asking your Lordship to 'license' Mr. Keble's version of the Psalms I find that I was asking more than I can learn to have been practical in our Church since the Reformation, although it certainly belongs to each Bishop to settle what should be sung in the public worship of his diocese. As your Lordship took no notice of the word 'license' in your answer to my letter, I set about ascertaining the fact, which in my first application at Cuddesdon, and again now, I had hastily taken for granted: and I cannot ascertain that Bishops have been in the habit, in these last centuries, of licensing books for the use of their diocese.

A mere 'dedication by permission,' however, would not remove Mr. Keble's scruples, unless it implied your Lordship's sanction that the version should be used in your Lordship's diocese: otherwise, he would seem to be adding to the number of unauthorized Psalmodies, already too great. To this I understood your Lordship to accede, and I therefore take the liberty of transcribing a title-page, and two forms of dedication which Mr. Keble has sent me. I half feel that I am putting myself too forward in this matter; yet I write, instead of Mr. Keble, because I originally applied for your Lordship's 'license' and (your Lordship not being aware of the sense in which I used the term and so assenting) satisfied his scruples by telling him that I had obtained it.

Your Lordship will not think it undutiful if, dropping the notion of its being called 'The Oxford Psalter' or 'A new Version of the Psalms for the use of the Diocese of Oxford,' Mr. Keble would still dislike putting his name in the title-page; for indeed they are called 'Merrick's Psalms,' and 'Tate and Brady's Psalms,' and this Mr. Keble would not at all like.

With regard to dating a letter from a saint's day, I would not make it a common practice; but until of late the habit of dating from them seems to have been common: one finds it among the Non-jurors, who, I suppose, used it in common with those of their day. We still speak of those days or seasons which we still value, as Christmas rather than the end of December, Easter, Whitsuntide, &c.; our leases dated Michaelmas and Lady Day imply the same. There are some old Hebrew exhibitions at Christ Church which are to be paid on 'the Feasts of St. Michael the Archangel' and 'the Blessed Virgin Mary.' I cannot but think that if people thought about the Saints' days it would come natural to them to do common things in reference to them, and so to date from them; and that dating from them, and so on, carries the memory of them into little things which are done. And I think that people have taken offence (as I have been told lately they have done) at the Tracts being dated from them, because it implied

a respect for them which they did not feel, and so accidentally blamed them. One would wish to avoid this, and so I would not intentionally so date a letter, unless I thought the individual to whom I wrote would coincide with me : but I may have done so at different times, as it may have seemed to me a sort of being ashamed of my practice to date one letter St. Philip and St. James, and another May 1.

Pray excuse the trouble of this long explanation,

And believe me, with much respect,

Your Lordship's obliged and faithful servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

At that date Bishops had not been in the habit of licensing forms of services, lessons, prayers, &c. for use in their own dioceses, a practice now so familiar. Hence this letter was forwarded to Archbishop Howley, who replied as follows :—

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Lambeth, May 16, 1839.

It is said by Wharton that the version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins never received 'any Royal approbation or Parliamentary sanction.' A version made by King James the First was allowed and recommended by his successor. The version of Tate and Brady was allowed and permitted to be used, &c. by William the Third. Sir Richard Blackmore's version was licensed by George the First, but did not find admission into churches. Dr. Horne, Bishop of Norwich, introduced several Psalms from Merrick's version into the Church of St. Mary's, Oxford. A selection of Psalms and Hymns was sanctioned by Bishop Tomline in 1815, and used in Buckden Church and other neighbouring churches. In 1820 a selection of Psalms and Hymns for public worship was sanctioned at York by the Archbishop of that province.

The above information I have collected from the preface to a new version published by the Rev. Basil Wood in 1821. I do not believe that in the eye of the law any Bishop has authority to license the use of any new version in his diocese. In sanctioning the publication by permitting it to be inscribed to him there can be nothing objectionable. When I was Bishop of London I was frequently applied to, and, I think, in some instances of selection allowed of a dedication to myself. A selection by Mr. Horne has been inscribed to me since I was Archbishop. To translators who requested me either to give or procure a regular sanction for the use of their versions in churches, I replied that a request of that kind would more properly come under consideration when their work had been for some time before the public, and had obtained general approbation.

In the present instance I do not see why your Lordship should not accept the dedication with the title as stated by Dr. Pusey, but omitting the clause which states your consent to the use of the version in your diocese. Indeed I think this permission should not be asked of you. It is possible that the version may be excellent, and yet unsuitable to Church Psalmody. At any rate, your sanction in that respect will have greater weight if it accords with the opinion of the public; and it certainly will have little effect if it does not.

I meant to have answered your communication by return of post, as you will see by the date, but I have been prevented by incessant occupation from finishing what I had begun till this morning.

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Most truly yours,

W. CANTUAR.

I return Dr. Pusey's letter.

This was forwarded to Pusey on the Sunday before Mrs. Pusey's death; and at this point accordingly the subject passed into Keble's hands. The book was issued in June, 1839, and the first edition was sold in four weeks. It was reviewed by the Rev. Isaac Williams in the *British Critic* of January, 1840: the article has a high interest of its own; but in the same number of the *British Critic* there is an appendix to Mr. Williams' article, in which two and thirty pages of small print are devoted by Pusey to illustrating the literal fidelity to the Hebrew text of Keble's metrical version. This elaborate and interesting paper was written during the visit at Budleigh Salterton; as he says, he certainly did not grudge the 'happy hours which are spent apart from the "strife of tongues" in the hidden sanctuary of the Psalms.'

At the same time he was engaged in printing the enlarged edition of his tract on Baptism; Newman enriched it with some patristic references. He was also preparing for the press a volume of translations, by the Rev. F. Oakeley, of St. Augustine's Anti-Pelagian Treatises, with an introduction of his own on the history of Pelagianism, which has never appeared in print, although it was read as two papers at meetings of the Theological Society. The object of this introduction was to combat opposite popular errors which have gathered round the heresy of Pelagius: errors which

associate with the heresy much that has no connexion with it; and errors which would apologize for it as only a healthy form of opposition to the theories of St. Augustine.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Budleigh Salterton, Aug. 2, 1839.

MY DEAR NEWMAN,

I have looked over Oakeley's translation of the *de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*], but there are some places (chiefly on Aug.'s translation of certain texts) to which I must add notes at Oxford. He is going on with the rest: I think that he has often turned difficult passages happily, and hope it will read well, as I think it will interest people and do good; but I suppose I shall have imparted some of my hard style to it. I have been reading the *de gestis Pelagii*, and cannot hope but that P. was very dishonest at the Council of Jerusalem. It is a painful exhibition of the great fall of one who had been held in high repute.

Of Pusey's life at Budleigh Salterton one or two features have been supplied by the clergyman who had the spiritual charge of the place:—

'Dr. Pusey occasionally availed himself of the boat of a retired tradesman. In conversation with him Dr. Pusey found that though in the habit of going to church, he was really a Unitarian, at least defending those principles. I quite remember his speaking to me about this very seriously, and he begged me to lend him "Jones on the Holy Trinity," a book on the S.P.C.K. list. An old servant who waited on him, and who afterwards lived in my service for some years, used to tell me of the simplicity and self-denial of his daily life, and of the hardness of his bed.'

During his holidays Pusey always endeavoured to ascertain how far Church principles, as restated by the Oxford Tracts, were making their way in the country.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

August 2, 1839.

I saw Medley several times while he was here. He seems a very nice person, and will do good, I hope; he fears about the middling classes: he says the higher, he has found, soon understood us, when we explain ourselves; but that the middle, with their horror of Popery, have a fear also of being priest-ridden. Mr. K. here seems a well-disposed person, though probably too easy, and taking things too easily, but he is young: he had been wishing to introduce the

Wednesday and Friday service, but could not, for the chapel is unconsecrated, and Lord Rolle's private property. He has now done it. Mr. Bartholomew, with whom I had one long talk, speaks very encouragingly of the progress of things (as does Oakeley among the lawyers). Mr. B. speaks from his experience as Examining Chaplain. He named one instance in which a person, who had been preaching most strongly on the other side, owned to have been turned quite by the Tracts. Mr. B. himself seems to be one of those who say that there is a great deal of good in the Tracts, but that they do not mean to subscribe to everything in them (why should they?). The Bishop of Exeter has been praising the Tracts to the clergy, but speaking against 'Reserve.' I endeavoured to give Mr. B. a better impression of it (and through him, I hoped, to the Bishop), but I was afraid to say much, for fear of diluting Williams' 'bitter,' and so making it a more palatable but less beneficial medicine.

The visit to Budleigh Salterton ended on Sept. 2nd. Pusey had wished to return at once to work at Oxford, but his daughter Lucy's health made this unadvisable, and it was arranged that they should all go to Brighton, where he was joined by his mother, and remained until Oct. 16th. His visit brought him into contact with several interesting people; but he went on working as at Budleigh Salterton.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[20 Marine Square, Brighton], Sept. 11, 1839.

I had a very pleasant interview with J. Watson on Saturday; he is staying here. I introduced the subject of Mr. B.'s discourses as a 'feeler'; and I was delighted to find him taking altogether the same views as ourselves, so far; it was quite refreshing to hear an old man speaking the same things, clearly and calmly; it seemed to link us on so visibly with past generations, and that we were teaching no other than had been delivered to us. He asked after you; and, naming 'Keble,' said 'I do not like prefixing the title (Mr.) to his or Newman's or your name.'

I called on R. Anderson¹, and he has left me a tract in which he has incorporated a good deal from Bishop Jebb; so that he seems to be making progress.

Dr. Wolff seems determined to make an acquaintance with me, whether I will or no. I wish I could fairly get rid of him. However, it will be something if one can in any degree quiet him. I meant to have sent his letter, but kept it back as too heavy. . . .

I said nothing about myself, because I know not how I am; sometimes I think myself a little stronger, sometimes it seems as though

¹ The Rev. Robert Anderson, Incumbent of Trinity Chapel, Brighton.

I were gradually declining. Perhaps both are true. My mother and brother observe that I am much aged in the last year.

God bless you and yours.

Ever your very affectionate and grateful friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

I should not like to date from 20 Marine Square, but that it recalls past acts of kindness.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

20 Marine Square, Brighton, Sept. 18, 1839.

Thank you for your full opinion about Tertullian's treatises: I had read the first *ad Uxorem*, and begun the second, and come to the same conclusion that there was much good in it, and no sufficient reason to omit it. It is singular that we should have been thus led to take a fearless line, just on the point on which Mr. Taylor taunts us with the Ancient Church. The other two treatises I have not yet read: for I had forgotten which they were, and read the *de Habitu Muliebri* and most of the *de Cultu Fem.*, which I thought likely to have difficulties. They have; but who will say that they are not needed in the present day in the so-called 'world'? I hope they may help also in the crusade against pearls, gold, and costly array, which I have been in some degree engaged in: the jewels of the ladies in London would build all the churches wanted, and endow them too I believe; we must preach them into 'the treasury,' and silver dishes into the smelting-pot, some day, else we shall never get the funds we want, nor the simplicity of Churchmen. However, this may be by-and-by; if you make Churchmen they will melt the silver dishes gladly, and one must not get into the error of the L. C. [Low Church] of going to the branches, instead of the root: yet breaking off jewels, or melting a service of plate, would be a good decided act.

I have read the *de Virg. Vel.*; I agree with you that the subject and way of treating it make it not worth inserting as a whole; and one is glad to have a come-off; at the same time there are some good things at the beginning, the Apostles' Creed, the statement that things contained in it were not open to correction or amendment; there is also a good saying towards the end about *Scriptura, natura, disciplina*, even while arguing against tradition: perhaps these might be worked into the preface: otherwise I was thinking whether one might extend your principle of publishing what was useful of Montanistic treatises. I like your principle of selection.

It is very pleasing to see how completely J. W. [Joshua Watson] identifies himself with us: he asked much about you. He says that he thinks the S. P. C. K. would not be indisposed to print tracts, or portions of our Fathers, as a 'Poor Man's Library of the Fathers.' It might be worth trying them.

I have received a very kind letter from the Bishop of L., asking for accounts of myself and my children.

I have looked through the *de Exhort. Cast.* My misgivings would arise from the peremptoriness with which he speaks against second marriages. Certainly we want to have the tone raised on all the subjects connected with marriage; celibacy, living in marriage, *σχολάζειν τῇ προσευχῇ*; and on some of them Tertullian would do good service in this very treatise. It would be desirable, too, that people should come to think it a good to abstain from second marriages. People lose what is a good, simply because it never occurs to them to think of it as a good; I should think this argument (§ 1. 2), '*habere nos noluit; si enim voluisset, non abstulisset,*' would be felt by many; but then there are so many who are involved in second marriages who would be pained; and there are such fearful instances of the '*uri,*' that I have misgivings about anything so strong, especially as a beginning. I do not think much of the difficult passages, except that part of § 9 in its more obvious sense would not be true, or is not true at all; his '*duae uxores eundem circumstant maritum, una spiritu, alia carne*' is nicely said; and so are many of his principles, if not so peremptory. His interpretation of 'Not I, but the Lord' is not what I have been accustomed to.

The Bishop of Calcutta, I suppose you have seen, makes goodly admissions in behalf of Tradition (Charge, p. 654). They would make a good extract for the *British Critic*, including the admission of the *quod ubique*: if people will but go on so we may leave Tradition too in their hands.

The inclosed half sheet is from the *Morning Despatch*; to judge from this specimen, an insipid ill-conditioned paper. It is inserted as an advertisement only.

[Joshua] W[atson] wants Wood to answer the Government manifesto about education. After all, the sting is in the contest between the 'State' and a 'voluntary society,' p. iv. We seem taught every way to get rid of our 'voluntary societies' as best we may.

Kindest regards and wishes to Bowden.

Ever your very affectionate and grateful friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

In consequence of some strong representations of the Bishop of Calcutta, the Church Missionary Society sent a peremptory order that the missionaries in that diocese should be placed absolutely under the authority of the Bishop, upon which all the Calcutta Committee have resigned. This comes from R. Anderson, who seems to identify himself with Manning and us.

Could you say, without trouble, which are the best tracts against occasional nonconformity? I want them for a servant.

While at Brighton, Pusey saw something of the Rev.

H. V. Elliott, and sent him the second edition of his tract on Baptism.

THE REV. H. V. ELLIOTT TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR DR. PUSEY,

Wednesday, Sept. 25, 1839.

In returning you my grateful thanks for your second edition of your book on Baptism, I take shame to myself for not having thanked you many times before for your great and persevering kindness in sending me your other works: and not the less so, but the more so, because I am not (as I believe you know) disposed towards the general system of doctrine which you advocate. The reason for my various silences has been the hope to read carefully and accurately the works which you have been so good as to send me; but I am a slow reader, and many avocations, and the reading required by my sermons from week to week, and the accelerated velocity of modern publications, leaves me far behind: one thing I may say, that I do not take my opinions of the theological works which chiefly emanate from Oxford, at second-hand, from any of your bitter adversaries. I read them for themselves, and decline reading the works against them. Neither do I join in hard names, but often protest against the unfounded accusations which I hear. My great fear concerning you all is lest you should introduce an extreme value of forms and rites, to the detriment of spiritual worship, and ultimately of real holiness: lest you should exalt the Church to a par with, or above, the Word of God; and bring religion to be so much identified with the outward reception of the Sacraments as to disparage that private and secret walk with God, without which the Sacraments themselves will lose their power.

While I say this in all candour, speaking I know to equal candour, I must add that I love the fair, gentle, and humble spirit which distinguishes your books from others of the same school, in many of which there is, I am sorry to be obliged to think, abundant bitterness—and what is more, secret bitterness. Again, you speak out: others are often so obscure that they seem to leave a back door open to get out of their own proposition.

I will only add one more thing. Your books have made me pray more than I ever did in my life before for the spirit of truth, unity, and concord in our beloved Church—and the whole Catholic Church.

I am unwilling to say anything of the afflictions with which God has visited you: except that they did not pass without my poor sympathy and remembrance. May God, by such chastisement, make the sufferers more and more partakers of His holiness.

With undiminished affection, and the sincerest respect, believe me, my dear Dr. Pusey,

Most sincerely yours,

H. V. ELLIOTT.

Mrs. Elliott is just now, and ever since you came, in village retirement at Uckfield. Our term will soon end, and then I hope we may have the pleasure of seeing you face to face. I go to her this morning.

On his return to Oxford soon after this, Newman wrote of him as follows:—

Oct. 20, 1839.

‘Pusey has returned and in appearance much better. It is no exaggeration to say he is a ‘Father’ in the face and aspect. He has been preaching to breathless congregations at Exeter and Brighton. Ladies have been sitting on the pulpit steps, and sentimental paragraphs have appeared in the papers—in the *Globe*! Fancy!’

¹ Newman’s ‘Letters,’ &c., ii. 290.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIII.

The following letter is appended as showing the attention which the Oxford Movement was now beginning to attract in the United States of America.

MR. C. S. HENRY TO E. B. P.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

New York, Oct. 10, 1839.

I have asked my friend the Rev. Dr. Wainwright to give me the enclosed note of introduction because I wished to take the opportunity of Mr. Cogswell's visit to Oxford to send you the accompanying parcel—in which you will receive the American edition of the 'Tracts for the Times,' as far as they have been published to this time. After endeavouring for some time without success to find a publisher who would bring out in this country on his own account an edition of the 'Tracts for the Times' (with the related writings) I have at length assumed myself the pecuniary responsibility of the undertaking. You will pardon the style in which they are printed, when you consider that my object was to make them as *cheap* as could well be done, in order to secure their wider circulation. A volume of 552 pages is given for one dollar $\frac{67}{100}$, or about seven shillings sterling.

I have a deep conviction that in this country a great conflict is preparing in which the Church will be called to take stand against Romanism on the one hand, and the *rationalizing* tendencies of the various other sects. I cannot (when looking at the character [of] our present religious controversy) help feeling the immense importance of recalling (I should rather say calling) the public mind here to the entirely disregarded questions concerning the Sacraments, the authority of the Church in matters of faith no less than of discipline, and the more reverent study of primitive antiquity. With this conviction I have been led to undertake the bringing out of the Oxford Tracts with other writings in their strain by yourself, Mr. Newman, Keble, Hook, &c.

Besides this I am desirous to have some well-devised effort made to supply the common mind of the country with a better kind of religious books than are now to be found in general circulation—infected as they nearly all are with the miserable spirit of Ultra-Protestantism. By judicious republications of old treatises of the great divines of the seventeenth century, as well as of a later day, in harmony with the

general doctrine [of the] 'Tracts,' and by such other works as may require to be specially prepared for this country, a series might be brought out that with the Divine Blessing might do great good. I have been for some time conferring with Dr. Wainwright in regard to such a series, and hope that something may be done. Among the works that I should like to include in such a series (besides the more directly doctrinal works) would be a good popular History of the English Reformation, one of the time of the 'Commonwealth,' one relating to the period from 1688 through the Non-juring times.

The religious condition of this country is now peculiarly interesting. On the one hand the Romanists are at work with great ability and adroitness, taking advantage of the innumerable sects into which the community is split; and on the other hand these sects are mingled in a complicated strife—the so-called Orthodox or Evangelical schools conflicting among themselves, yet all uniting in opposition to the Unitarians, which latter body again is in hourly danger of a split—that will divide the old Priestleyan Socinians against the followers of the German Rationalistic form of infidelity. In the mean[time] the rationalizing spirit has deeply infected the body of the yet Orthodox Independents and Presbyterians. And it is a pity to be obliged to add that the so-called Evangelical or Low Church party in our Episcopal Church have but little comprehension and less sympathy with the *Catholic* principles of the English Reformation. On the contrary, their sympathies seem to be with the sectarians; they are vehement and bitter in their denunciations of the Oxford theology; they are inclined to secure the credit of possessing (in the minds of the other sects) all the 'vital piety' there is in the Church, by sinking the claims of the Church and its ministry; and with pseudo-liberality affecting to regard the distinctive features of our Church as so much unessential Gothic carved work, ornamenting indeed the outward form of the Church but not affecting the question of spiritual benediction—which is as much warranted to *other sects* as to *theirs*! It seems to me therefore unspeakably important that true notions of the Church as the depository of the Sacraments and the divinely constituted dispenser of spiritual benediction, as well as deeper views of the nature and significance of the Sacraments themselves, should be earnestly presented.

Along with the 'Tracts' I have put for your acceptance some other things which I have brought out. In themselves they have but little claim upon your notice. Some of them are the crude views of a mind not yet matured in its views—especially on the *proper* relation of the speculative intellect to theology. The only reason I have for offering them to you is that being yet a comparatively young learner (I am but little beyond thirty years old), and having recently found myself *deeply indebted* to you and your fellow-labourers, both for what you have written and for what you have put me upon reading of others' writings—I feel a natural impulse to connect with this note of

acknowledgment some other visible memorials of my own mind and pen.

If you should do me the favour of a line in reply, I beg to assure you that any suggestions you may make concerning the great and good cause in which you labour would be thankfully received, as also any information of the progress and condition of your publications and endeavours.

I have been unable to procure from London the second part of vol. ii. of the Tracts, being yours on Baptism. The time is near for needing it for our reprint. If my friend Mr. Cogswell (who has been my associate in the *New York Review* for the past year) should fail to find a copy at the booksellers, could I tax your kindness so far as to put him in the way of procuring a copy for me, to send over as soon as possible?

Hoping for your indulgent reception for this hastily written and long note, and your kind allowance of the liberty I have taken in addressing you,

I am, Rev. and dear Sir,

Very respectfully and faithfully yours, &c.

C. S. HENRY.

Rev. Dr. Pusey.

CHAPTER XXIV.

UNION FOR PRAYER—THE LITTLEMORE 'MONASTERY'—
WHAT IS PUSEYISM?—THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC—
PROPOSAL TO PRINT THE SARUM BREVIARY—RELA-
TIONS WITH THE EASTERN CHURCH—FEARS OF
SECESSION—GATHERING HOSTILITY.

1840.

DURING the spring of 1840 there was a good deal of discussion on a subject which powerfully affected the inner life of the Oxford party. This was a proposed union for prayer. The suggestion came originally from the Hon. and Rev. George Augustus Spencer, better known afterwards as the Passionist Father Ignatius, who had passed from an earnest phase of Evangelicalism to the Church of Rome. In January, 1840, Mr. Spencer visited Oxford.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel College, January 9, 1840.

Mr. Spencer, the R. C., has been in Oxford, indeed is now. I declined dining to meet him. He is with Palmer of Magdalen. Upon this he called on me, having it very much in heart to talk to every one on one particular subject. He has lately been instrumental in getting Christians in France to pray for the English Church, to whom the Germans are now being added, and he wants in like manner to get the English to pray for the Continental Christians. I suppose he would like nothing better than to have a practice set on foot of praying, e.g. every Thursday (which is *their* day), for their restoration to the true faith and for the unity of the Church. He urged very strongly that all difficulties would soon vanish if there was real charity on both sides. He is a gentlemanlike, mild, pleasing man, but very smooth.

Pusey hesitated at first. He had declined a similar proposal when it came from a Low Church quarter.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Brighton, January 12, 1840.

I am suspicious as to any combinations within our Church. It seems to me that till the system of the Church is more carried out one is rather drawing people off from the right direction by combining even to realize in a greater degree what she has provided for us. It is what one has been objecting to Mr. Stuart's plan and the Low Church generally. We do pray, as a Church, for the Churches in the Communion of Rome, as for all others, twice daily; they only pray for us once in the year as lying under an anathema; so that, much as we are obliged to Mr. Spencer and those joined with him, our Church, as a Church, has the superiority in doing for them, as a Church, what they are only doing for us as individuals. (I read part of your letter to Manning, who was with me, and he seemed to think that any union corresponding to that of Mr. S. would put those who did not like it in perplexity.) Ought not the day also to have been a fast-day? for which Thursday is specially ill-suited, besides the difficulty of instituting private fasts. I do not collect from your letter what your own thoughts about it are, so send mine and Manning's.

Newman rejoined that he did not see any harm in one day being fixed to pray for Unity. Such an arrangement did not involve the formation of a society. The new commandment to love one another had been given on a Thursday.

There the matter ended, so far as Pusey was concerned, until the end of March, when Newman proposed that if a union of prayer throughout the whole Church was impossible something might be attempted within the Church of England. In this modified proposal Pusey was ready to coincide.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Christ Church, Eve of the Annunciation, 1840.

I should like the plan of 'an union for prayer for internal union' very much, if it could be shown to be regular, and not give countenance to irregularities, such as October 4 commemorations, Mr. Stewart's plan, &c. It would be excellent, as originating on our side, who are looked upon as disturbers of the public peace, and the L[ow] C[hurch] must come into it and be softened by it. But how could it become extensive and regular too? Could one ask the Bishop of Oxford and make it diocesan, so that other dioceses might join? or the Archbishop of Canterbury, so at least as to be able to say that they did not

disapprove of it? I should like the day to be Friday, unless you have a decided preference for Thursday, for which there is much to be said.

You say, 'I could say a good deal on the subject.' I wish you would in the *B[ritish] C[ritic]*. Also do have an article on the use of R. C. books of devotion. It is much needed, for persons may readily get entangled by it; and yet the prayers of T. Aquinas and Bonaventura at the end of the Breviary are so valuable.

Newman suggested hereupon that the first step would be to apply to the Archbishop for his sanction, and then to ask some of the leading clergymen of the Low Church party whether they would co-operate. Pusey acquiesced in this; but before the Archbishop could be approached the plan must be matured. 'What prayers were to be used? What was to be the day, what the hour, at which they should be used? Did our Lord's precept about entering into the closet and shutting the door forbid associations for private prayer where the individuals were known to one another?'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, April 7, 1840.

As to the day, I think on the whole *Friday* is best. As to the hour, nine is the *proper* time, but it may interfere with the business of the day, and also may be (*therefore*) an ostentatious hour. Early rising not only would be less seen and less difficult to secure, but it would involve self-denial. If I said six, it might be hard on elderly people. Seven, I suppose, is the hour of prime, and so far a good hour. Should it not be the same winter and summer? were it not for elderly people,—but qu. is not seven as bad for them? Can we take any hour which will not be a difficulty to some, or many? I almost incline to six. (I suppose we must give up the notion of a fixed hour. The utmost we can gain will be a *recommendation* of one.) I think I should exclude all but Church prayers, except when an individual prayed alone. One has no right to fetter private prayer, but it would be very inexpedient for a *private* character to be stamped on what is *social* in any degree. I hardly understand your question about Matt. vi. I cannot conceive the rule about 'shut thy door' more contravened by social prayer than by public. I drop entirely the notion of a manifesto, since Keble evidently does not like it. I do not like fast days¹: I cannot tell why, except that they are efforts. I suspect they are Calvinistic. 'Lest she *weary* me' is our direction.

Pusey, with characteristic eagerness, proposed to set at once to work.

¹ i. e. fast days of private appointment. The writer does not mean those ordered by the Church in the Prayer-book.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[Christ Church],

Fer. 4 inf. Hebd. Pass. 1840.

It is an anxious thing to decide any way to whom first to apply, for fear it should fail. I will send your letter to Keble this evening, in case he should have any suggestions; then, if you think best, I would write to Marsh, Buddicorn (Liverpool), Snow (St. Dunstan's), Archdeacon Law, Brodrick (Bath), Elliott, who might be good indices. My own notion was that one of us might write to the Archbishop and Bishop of Oxford, stating generally that a wish for something of this sort is felt (without specifying names), and to ask whether they would have any objection to its being acted upon in their diocese or in the province generally, with the sanction of the respective Bishops. Then you might get Archdeacon Froude to apply to the Bishop of Exeter, Keble to Winchester, Hamilton to Salisbury, Hook to Ripon, &c., and then one might apply to Archdeacons to employ clerical meetings to extend it within those dioceses. I think, though, it must emanate from Oxford, yet we should soon be joined by persons who would take off from it the appearance of party in the sight of sincere men.

But it is an anxious thing to apply to the Archbishop, because if the answer were unfavourable, there were little remedy.

Keble suggested a public petition to the Archbishop that he would sanction the union for prayer. To this Pusey objected that it would appear to cast a slight on other Bishops by passing them over. Newman too thought that it was 'certain to cause jealousy.' In other respects Keble concurred in the proposal.

Pusey had written to Harrison, asking him to submit the plan to the Archbishop; but before Harrison could do so, Pusey again wrote to withdraw the request, on the ground that 'our immediate application should be made to our own Bishops.' 'It seems to me,' he continued, 'that it is rather the office of our respective Bishops to consult the Metropolitan, or, if they prefer it, to refer us to him.' He then proceeds:—

'We have no one centre of unity like the Romanists; although from our respect to the Abp. of C., as also from the extent of his province, and that we ourselves are living in it, we are apt sometimes practically to forget that there is another province and another Archbishop. I think, partly owing to our insulated condition, partly to our connexion with the State, we are too apt to look upon ourselves as in such sort one Church, as to forget the claims which our respective Bishops have upon

us; that, whatever responsibility they may have to their brethren, they stand in an especial relation to us, and so (however they may feel their own hands tied) they have an especial right to counsel, direct, originate, sanction things for us. We seem to look upon our Church too much (so to say) as one machine, of which the several Bishops are wheels, instead of regarding each as an ἀρχή, although all united by the invisible bond of communion, as well as by outward bands, into one. Perhaps I may have been more exposed to this than others, from the state of Chapters, which are so disconnected with their Bishops; this, at least, never visited by him, except at ordinations, when he appears as a guest, rather than a head.

‘I suppose, however, that the Bishops may very likely either consult together, or with the Archbishop, or refer us to him.’

Pusey himself applied to the Bishop of Oxford: his letter contains a matured statement of the plan:—

Christ Church, June 11, 1840.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have been wishing for some time to lay before your Lordship a plan, upon which some of us have been some time thinking, in the hope of increased union in the Church. It is to gain persons of different ways or shades of thinking to pray on one day in the week for increased unity.

The bases of the plan which have been thought of are these:—

1. *The day.*—The Friday in each week, as the weekly commemoration of the Passion, our Church's weekly fast and day of humiliation (and our manifold divisions sadly call for humiliation), its being a Litany-day; and so one which those who do not use Daily Service still, in many cases, keep of old times. As being already kept in a degree, it would fall in with people's habits more, and might lead to its being better kept. It is not, either, like choosing a day for ourselves. The Good Friday Collects, being for the Church, and the bringing in of those without, seemed to point the same way.

2. *Objects.*—(i) Unity of doctrine and spirit. (ii) Guidance into the truth.

3. *Plan.*—(i) Prayers to be private, except any have members of his own household for the time being whom he would like to join with him, but to be limited to those living in the same house. (ii) Unless strictly private, prayers from our Liturgy only to be used.

4. None to be hindered thereby from withstanding principles which we respectively think wrong, from controversy, &c.

We cannot but hope that some such plan as this might, in the first instance, allay some of the feelings of jealousy, mistrust, dislike, &c. which exist. People could not combine together to pray that they might all be one without being softened towards each other. And then, ultimately, there is the blessing promised to persevering, united prayer.

This we wish to attain in as quiet a way as possible : we look then that the prayer should be mostly private, the union consisting in its being on the same day, and, as far as may be, at the same time, for the same end.

But for this we need, in some degree, Episcopal sanction ; because, although our object is one to which none would object, we would avoid setting a precedent of combination which might be applied to other objects which might not be desirable.

We wish the plan to emanate from both sides of the Church, in order that it might not be looked upon with suspicion as a party measure.

The plan is, then, in different dioceses, to gain some who would be regarded as of opposed or different shades of religious opinion, so that the application to the Diocesan might come from both parties.

In your Lordship's diocese I have named the subject to persons of different ways of thinking (with a view of being able to assure your Lordship that such a plan is desired), and have found that it was felt to be very desirable.

I did not like to go further without informing your Lordship, having sufficiently ascertained this point, and not wishing that it should be publicly spoken of, or canvassed, without ascertaining your Lordship's views.

The same plan will be laid before the Bishops in other dioceses. If your Lordship approves of the plan sufficiently to sanction our making it public, my friend Mr. Newman has drawn out a plan of a selection of prayers from the Liturgy for this purpose, which I should wish to submit to your Lordship.

I should say that we do not contemplate anything of a formal association or society, or that those who engage in it should be known to each other. When once sanctioned, the plan was, that each should interest those whom he thought right and could, and those, others ; so that, with the approbation of the Bishops, it might spread throughout our Church.

We are miserably weakened by our divisions, and yet there is a great deal of energy in our Church, and that increasing, if it were but united.

I do not wish to press your Lordship for any speedy answer, and have chosen the way of writing in order that your Lordship may have the nature of the plan more distinctly placed before you.

I have the honour to remain, with much respect,

Your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

Bishop Bagot hesitated to act on his own judgment. He sent Pusey's letter to the Archbishop, and asked for advice. The Archbishop's reply illustrates at once the kindly feeling, piety, shrewdness, and caution of the writer.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Lambeth, June 22, 1840.

I have been prevented from returning the enclosed as soon as I could have wished by the more than ordinary interruptions which I have experienced for the last three weeks, and which, literally speaking, have engrossed the whole of my disposable time. The same press of occupation prevents me from entering at any length on the proposal which forms the subject of Dr. Pusey's letter. I am therefore compelled briefly to say that though the object at which he aims is in all respects most desirable, though I think very highly of his zeal and piety, and agree with him in attributing the greatest efficacy to prayer, more especially as here accompanied with active endeavours for the attainment of the blessing which is sought, I fear the combination which he proposes would not answer his expectations in the result. It would not, in my opinion, eventually produce peace: many persons who differ from him in their opinions would look with suspicion on the plan; and the prayers even of those who came into it might possibly be directed to unity established on grounds very different from those which he contemplates, and consequently would not fall under the description of United Prayer. In truth we offer up prayers in the Church for unity at least on every Sunday, and every person who chooses may do the same on all days in the week: but as this latter does not require the sanction of the Bishop, I do not see why that sanction should be required. Indeed, I should be afraid of a precedent which might in future times be applied to questionable purposes, and which would introduce a practice that might be varied and modified in different ways and by different persons, without regard to authority.

My notion is that if Dr. Pusey and his friends should choose to put forth and recommend such a plan they may do it on their own responsibility without prejudice to the respect which is due to the Bishop; if they consulted me as a friend, I should advise them even against this; if they looked for my public approbation as a Bishop, I should decline acceding to their request.

I remember an Evangelical clergyman about thirty years ago who told me that he had long been surprised that this nation had not been destroyed for its sins, till at last he discovered that there were a number of praying people in Yorkshire who met weekly for the purpose of deprecating the punishment of the national sins.

Not very long ago I met with a proposal for uniting in prayer for more copious outpourings of the Spirit. These are both proper objects of prayer. But I question whether such a mode of praying, except on solemn occasions prescribed by authority, is judicious.

I am really afraid of innovations, not knowing to what they may possibly lead, and we have sufficient means of grace if we would only make the best use of them.

As you said you should be at Canterbury during the whole of September, I have fixed Thursday, the 24th of that month, for my first visitation at the cathedral.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful servant,
W. CANTUAR.

After an interval of three weeks Bishop Bagot wrote to Pusey, mainly in the very words of the Archbishop's letter, but, as was perhaps natural, without mentioning the Archbishop's name. Pusey and Newman might have a private union of prayer, but the Bishop was not sanguine as to its results, and he could not give it his Episcopal sanction. Pusey wrote again; and again Bishop Bagot forwarded his letter to Lambeth.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Lambeth, July 20, 1840.

MY DEAR LORD,

I return Dr. Pusey's letter, which breathes the same amiable spirit that distinguishes all that comes from him. In everything that regards the government of the Church the very learned and pious divines who think with Dr. Pusey are accustomed to express and to pay the greatest deference to the Bishop. In this they are right; but I question whether the principle as applied by them would not tend, if carried out in effect, to generate schism, to make each diocese a separate Church with customs and practices of its own, instead of a member of our Anglican Catholic Church, concurring in usages, no less than in doctrine, and further to introduce a system liable to change according to the opinions of individual Bishops in succession.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Most truly yours,
W. CANTUAR.

The proposed union for prayer nearly came to nothing: nearly, but not quite. Bishop Bagot did not encourage it. Newman's sketch of a plan¹ was used in private for some years by some friends in and near Oxford; and it was published in 1846 under the title of 'Prayers for Unity and Guidance into the Truth.' It furnished the idea of the short

¹ Newman drew up the subjoined 'Plan for the Society of Prayer for Unity':—Lord have mercy, &c.; Our Father, &c.; O Lord, shew Thy mercy upon us; Pss. 80, 122, 133;

St. John xiii; O God the Father, &c., for Unity; as a Prayer, Dan. ix. 16-19; Turn Thou us, O Lord, we beseech Thee, &c.; Veni Creator; the Lord bless us and keep us, &c.

prayers circulated in 1845 by Pusey, Keble, and Marriott for use at three Hours of the day for the unity of the Church, the conversion of sinners, and the advancement and perseverance of the faithful. In this shape they have been ever since in daily use by members of a little society known as the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, and have become better known to Churchmen through the Intercessory Manual of the Rev. R. M. Benson of the Cowley Society of St. John.

While this correspondence was going on another subject was mooted which touched Pusey very nearly, and which was ominous, perhaps, of coming trouble. Newman spent Lent, 1840, at Littlemore, where he 'gave himself up to teaching in the Poor Schools and practising the choir¹.' But his mind was moving on more anxious questions, especially, as he tells us, on the questions which led to the publication of Tract 90. These were not unconnected with the wish to retire from Oxford and to carry out at Littlemore a plan which had been much before the minds of himself and Pusey.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, March 17, 1840.

Since I have been up here an idea has revived in my mind, of which we have before now talked, viz. of building a monastic house in the place, and coming up to live in it myself.

It rose in my mind from the feeling which has long been growing on me that my duty as well as pleasure lies more at Littlemore than I have made it. It has long been a distress that I know so little of my parishioners in Oxford, but tradespeople it is next to impossible to know, considering how they have hitherto been educated—at least, impossible to me. It has pained me much to be preaching and doing little more than preach—knowing and guiding only a few, say about half a dozen: moreover, from the circumstances of the case, however little I might wish it, preaching more for persons who are *not* under my charge, members of the University.

All this is independent of any monastic scheme. I have given twelve years to St. Mary's in Oxford, may I not in fairness and propriety give something of my continual presence to St. Mary's at Littlemore?

In such a case I should have no intention of separating myself from St. Mary's in Oxford or the University. I should take the Sunday afternoon service at St. Mary's, if that were an object, and should be

¹ 'Apologia,' p. 234.

continually in Oxford—indeed I must be, as being full of ties as a Fellow of Oriel.

Next, as to this plan of a *μονή*: I could not be here much without my library—this is what immediately turned my thoughts to a building; and then all we had on former occasions said about it came into my mind.

I am quite of opinion, first that such a scheme cannot begin in Oxford, nor in London or other great towns. Next I think we must begin with a complete type or specimen, which may *preach* to others. I am sanguine that if we could once get one set up at Littlemore it would set the example both in great towns, and for female societies.

Again, perhaps it might serve as a place to *train up* men for great towns.

Again, it should be an open place, where friends might come for a time if they needed a retreat, or if they wished to *see* what it was like.

And further, if it be an object, as you sometimes kindly think, to keep me to Oxford (and indeed as I should *like*), a plan like this *fixes* me. I should conceive myself as much fixed as you are by your canonry, whereas at present I am continually perplexing myself whether I am not called elsewhere, or may not be.

Nor do I think that in such a plan I am neglecting the duty of residence at Oriel: first, because the college has *made me* their Vicar to this parish, nay made me such as *Fellow*, for did I resign my Fellowship I resign the living; next, because the *Sodalitium* might be looked upon as a hall dependent in a way on the college, as St. Mary's Hall was.

And let it be called St. Gregory's—and let your four volumes first enter it.

If it were ever brought to pass, perhaps you would come up to it now and then on saints' days—or when you wanted change of air. And now I have said my say so far. Money, I hope, would be forthcoming: the *ground* however is an anxious thing.

Pusey had two minds about the subject of this letter. The plan of life contemplated was substantially his own; but the withdrawal of Newman from Oxford would be a disaster to the cause which they both had at heart.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Christ Church, March 19, 1840.

I thought much, as you will suppose, of your plan. I am glad that you think at all events of retaining the pulpit at St. Mary's, for your preaching there has certainly been made a great instrument of good: so that one may feel very confident that it was, in part at least, for that end that it was ordered you should be Vicar of St. Mary's.

There is only one other point which I should like you to consider, viz. whether it would not be compatible with your plan that you should be occasionally resident (e. g. during great part of the terms) in Oxford: supposing you to reside six weeks, this would make but eighteen, i. e. one-third only of the year about. You know how much the presence of a senior Fellow helps to form the *ἦθος* of the body: and you have no adequate representative. Marriott must be a great loss. You, however, know the state of your own body best, but it is a thing to be thought of.

Then also your Tuesday evenings certainly have been the means of forming people; so that your occasional residence in Oxford and your presence among us would have great advantages.

With respect to the plan itself, one may, I think, lean much upon those tendencies which gradually grow in one, and (though I do not see why you should have been 'continually perplexing' yourself 'whether you are not called elsewhere') your reasons seem to me valid.

Then certainly it would be a great relief to have a *μονή* in our Church, many ways, and you seem just the person to form one.

I can then only repeat, what is my habitual prayer for you, τὸ ἔργον τῶν χειρῶν σου κατευθίνοι Θεός.

For myself, one has a feeling corresponding to that with which Elisha (I mean as far as outward circumstances go) may be supposed to have heard the words, 'Knowest thou that the Lord will take away thy master from thy head to-day?' However, if I am to act more for myself, I suppose it would be somehow in this way.

I hardly look to be able to avail myself of the *μονή*, since I must be so busy when here on account of my necessary absences to see my children, unless indeed I should live long enough to be ejected from my canonry, as, of course, one must contemplate as likely if one does live, and then it would be a happy retreat.

Would it not be better to take an English rather than a Roman saint, or why should it not be St. Mary's of Littlemore? But I suppose it will be some time before you obtain 'ground' for such an end.

You would not make up your mind, in such a case, not to accept the Provostship at all events?

Newman would meet Pusey's suggestions so far as he could.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, (? 20) March, 1840.

You cannot help writing what is kind: and what can you mean by speaking in the way you do about you and me?

What you suggest has a good deal to be said for it. Suppose I began only as far as this, to be in Oxford each term for six or eight weeks? The disadvantage of being in two places is the irregularity which it would cause; and it would not be compatible with having others here besides myself. But I might do as much as this, build

two rooms, one for me, one for my books, so that the building could afterwards be increased, and call it for a time but the quasi-parsonage of Littlemore. This is all very fine talking, however, when I have not got the ground, and I should fear it would be no easy matter to persuade the owner, a strange old man living at Dorchester, to sell it. The whole plan necessarily is a work of time.

I would not hold out against your and Keble's strong opinion, else I have myself come to the view that the Provostship, if it could be mine, would not be *tanti*. There is a mass of College business to be attended to, and of Hebdomadal: and one's time cut up in vacations by residence at Rochester with books at Oxford. If one could do as one would, I would have Marriott Provost; he has a particular art of taking young men, and has had it from an undergraduate.

[Rest of letter gone.]

Pusey did not in his heart like the plan; but he had too much love and reverence for Newman to oppose it directly. Hence the hesitation, and, apparently, the indistinctness of purpose, in the subjoined letter.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Christ Church, Eve of the Annunciation, 1840.

I wish you not to lay over-much stress on what I sent for you to consider, touching term residence in Oxford; for, other things apart, you know your own College best (though probably not the degree of your own influence) and I should be afraid to bias you: I think you [are] best under the guidance of what is suggested to you.

Is there not something between a regular *μονή* and 'two rooms, one for you and one for your books'? Might not rooms be built which might form a wing of a *μονή*, on the same plan on which you would build the *μονή*, but still large enough to admit of two or three or four friends staying there during the vacations, and perhaps you might even find one of them capable of being sub-Prior, and so staying on during your absence. This need not startle people, as a *μονή* would, though, *φωνάριτα συνετοίσι*, it would be under the size of an ordinary parsonage-house, and there would be nothing decisive about it, though people would suspect of course, and meanwhile might get familiarized to the idea.

With regard to the irregularity of having two homes, I do not think that that is any great difficulty, as far as study is concerned, provided you give yourself definite work. I found that I could work at Holton and even at Budleigh Salterton very well.

If you only occupied the rooms during vacations it might furnish occupation for a college servant or two, which you were anxious about.

I once thought very decidedly that the Provostship would be waste of time to you in College and Hebdomadal business; but you thought that this depended more on the Provost's own will; that he might take more or less as he thought fit, and might delegate or leave a good deal to others. So I supposed he might (though unless the Statutes are dispatched you probably would find a good deal to do). You thought the income a good thing. However, this is all very contingent: I only meant 'You would not make up your mind not to be Provost, under any circumstances?' I wish Rogers were in orders; it seems as though he would have so much more weight. Marriott would be a very good Provost.

Ever your very affectionate friend,
E. B. PUSEY.

This plan was gradually matured, while at about the same time Pusey's earlier plan of the house he had opened in St. Aldate's for the reception of graduates—'the *coenobitium*,' as Newman called it—came to a natural termination by the election of Mr. J. B. Mozley as a Fellow of Magdalen. If this effort had not realized all that Pusey hoped, it did something to promote value for a common life of prayer and theological study. 'The house in St. Aldate's,' wrote Newman to Pusey, 'has ended well, in spite of men's backwardness to enter it. Pattison, Christie, and Mozley all Fellows.'

It was apparently during the year 1840 that the use of the word 'Puseyism' became widely popular. The principles reasserted by the Oxford writers had been before denounced by their Latitudinarian opponents as Newmanism; or they sometimes used an obvious witticism, and called it Newmania. This designation, however, was never popularized. That Pusey himself greatly disliked such a use of his name need not be added: it reminded him of the party cries at Corinth condemned by St. Paul; it contradicted that feature of the English Reformation which he was never weary of extolling, that it had not been identified with any human name such as that of Cranmer or Ridley. In later life, in his more playful moods, he would sometimes speak of a man's being condemned for being an 'ite'—but he never pronounced the word in full. When

however it first became popular a lady wrote to ask him what it meant, and this led him to write an explanation which has a moral and religious as well as an historical value.

WHAT IS PUSEYISM ?

It is difficult to say what people mean when they designate a class of views by my name ; for since they are no peculiar doctrines, but it is rather a temper of mind which is so designated, it will vary according to the individual who uses it. Generally speaking, what is so designated may be reduced under the following heads ; and what people mean to blame is *what to them appears* an excess of them.

- (1) High thoughts of the two Sacraments.
- (2) High estimate of Episcopacy, as God's ordinance.
- (3) High estimate of the visible Church as the Body wherein we are made and continue to be members of Christ.
- (4) Regard for ordinances, as directing our devotions and disciplining us, such as daily public prayers, fasts, and feasts, &c.
- (5) Regard for the visible part of devotion, such as the decoration of the house of God, which acts insensibly on the mind.
- (6) Reverence for and deference to the Ancient Church, of which our own Church is looked upon as the representative to us, and by whose views and doctrines we interpret our own Church when her meaning is questioned or doubtful : in a word, reference to the Ancient Church, instead of the Reformers, as the ultimate expounder of the meaning of our Church.

But, while these differences are of degree only, there is a broad line of difference between the views so designated (Puseyism) and the system of Calvin (which has been partially adopted in our Church), though not as it is for the most part held by conscientious and earnest-minded persons : such points are :—

- (1) What are the essential doctrines of saving faith ? The one says, those contained in the Creeds, especially what relates to the Holy Trinity. The other (Calvinist), the belief in justification by faith only.
- (2) The belief of an universal judgment of both good and bad according to their works.
- (3) The necessity of continued repentance for past sins.
- (4) The intrinsic acceptableness of good works, especially of deeds of charity (sprinkled with the Blood of Christ), as acceptable through Him for the effacing of past sins.
- (5) The means whereby a man, having been justified, remains so. The one would say (the Calvinist), by renouncing his own works and trusting to Christ alone ; the other, by striving to keep God's commandments through the grace of Christ, trusting to Him for strength to do what is pleasing to God, and for pardon for what is displeasing, and these bestowed especially through the Holy Eucharist as that which chiefly unites them with their Lord.

(6) The Sacraments regarded in this, the Calvinistic system, as signs only of grace given independently of them; by our Church, as the very means by which we are incorporated into Christ, and subsequently have this life sustained in us.

(7) The authority of the Universal Church as the channel of truth to us. The one (our Church) thinks that what the Universal Church has declared to be matter of faith (as the Creeds) is to be received by individuals, antecedently to and independently of what they themselves see to be true. The other, that a person is bound to receive nothing but what he himself sees to be contained in the Holy Scriptures.

I am, however, more and more convinced that there is less difference between right-minded persons on both sides than these often suppose—that differences which seemed considerable are really so only in *the way of stating them*; that people who would express themselves very differently, and think each other's mode of expressing themselves very faulty, mean the same *truths* under different modes of expression.

E. B. PUSEY.

The lines on which the revival, thus popularly associated with Pusey's name, had hitherto moved had been almost exclusively doctrinal. In the academical society of Oxford this was quite natural. But it was inevitable that the question of the revival of the ceremonial which had expressed these doctrines in the pre-Reformation Church should sooner or later come to the front. Already, at the period which is now being described, the study of Liturgies ancient and modern was making itself felt in a desire to revive usages and symbols which were prescribed or not forbidden by the Prayer-book. The Rev. F. Oakeley wrote an article on the subject in the *British Critic* of April, 1840, which attracted a great deal of attention. It was only natural that Pusey should be consulted by persons who were anxious to restore ancient usages wherever they could. His Assistant-lecturer in Hebrew, Mr. Seager, who was a keen student of Liturgies, afforded him an illustration of this tendency¹: a cross on his stole in St. Mary's, such as would now be taken as a matter of course, occasioned a separate controversy. Mr. Russell, who as a Cambridge undergraduate had visited Pusey two years before, was now working in St. Peter's, Walworth, and had

¹ See the account of Mr. Seager's conversation in 'Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley,' pp. 85, 86.

written a tract on the observance of the Ornaments Rubric, and sent it to Pusey. Pusey's reply is so instructive as to his view of the whole matter, that it is given at length:—

E. B. P. TO THE REV. J. F. RUSSELL.

101 Marine Parade, Brighton, Oct. 9, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will have known what prevented me from looking at your tract on the Rubric for the time. I have now been from home for some time, and had not an opportunity of reading it until to-day. I was interested in it, and hope that it may help in its degree to the restoration of some valuable usages, which have been of late disused: but I must take the privilege of an elder to warn you against points of singularity, and which may readily be made matters of personal distinction. You will not mind my freely saying to you that I cannot hear without much anxiety of some practices of friends of yours, e.g. the hanging a room with black velvet during Lent. There seems in this a spirit foreign to the retiredness and absence of self—of real Catholicity: the very spirit of Catholicity is to make the individual sink in the body whereof he has been made a member: the tendency of Catholic practice is to subdue self: the individual should become the more humble in proportion to the dignity of his office. But in this and other things and, indeed, expressions that I have heard, there seems to be a tendency to seek occasion for distinction by the very means of Church practices, which were, of course, a miserable profanation. I hope that no individuals are conscious of this: but I have heard of such an expression as 'that things should be done at once; for a few years hence they would be so common that there would be no distinction in them,' or something to this effect. One should have very sad misgivings whither a person might not be led who acted in any degree with such an object as this: it would be making an idol of self, while seeming to honour God and the Church. Vanity, unsubduedness, self in some form, has been the source of all heresy; and the fear lest a person should be abandoned to self would in this case be the greater, in consequence of his looking to self in the midst of holy things.

On this ground, among others, I should deprecate seeking to restore the richer style of vestments used in Edward the Sixth's reign: contemptible as personal vanity appears in the abstract, it has probably much more root than people are aware of, and has the firmer hold because disregarded. It seems beginning at the wrong end for the ministers to deck their own persons: our own plain dresses are more in keeping with the state of our Church, which is one of humiliation: it does not seem in character to revive gorgeous or even in any degree handsome dresses in a day of reproach and rebuke and blasphemy: these are not holy days. We seem in this, as in many other

respects, to have fallen involuntarily into a practice conformable to our state ; and such as we are, in the midst of division, our flocks rent from us by the sins or neglect of their or our forefathers and our own, the garment of mourning were fitter for us than one of gladness.

Of course, if there were any peremptory injunction which we were unquestionably pledged to obey it would be a different thing ; but the Rubric which you would enforce has been otherwise understood by the majority of authorities. In doubtful cases our recourse is naturally to our Bishops : of these, two or three (I believe among them your present Diocesan) have expressed their disapproval of this interpretation ; so that in their dioceses the plan you propose could not be acted upon, nor the uniformity you wish for attained.

But, if it be not necessary, certainly it is very undesirable. Hardly anything, perhaps, has given so much handle as this subject of dresses : it has deterred many, made many think the questions at issue to be about outward things only, given occasion to scoffing, and disquieted many sober people.

If they be not necessary, certainly there is too much at stake to admit of our risking distracting people's minds by questions about them. The nature and efficacy of the Sacraments, the character and benefit of Confirmation and Orders ; the whole scheme, one might almost say, of doctrine and practice is in some degree at issue. For certainly the popular way of considering the mystery of the Holy Trinity is very different from that of Catholic antiquity : I mean, the habit of mind seems so to be, though (blessed be God) the confession of true faith still remains : and the nature of repentance, fasting, alms, or of judgement to come, is very different in the two systems.

As far as externals will contribute to greater reverence, it were far better and far more influential to begin with that which is farthest removed from self. One of the prejudices against Catholicity is its supposed exaltation of the priesthood : it were better to wait till the simplicity of the priest's dress were out of keeping with the beauty and decoration of the church and the altar, so that when it came to be enriched it should seem to be forced upon us : not to begin with ourselves. It were better far to begin with painted windows, rich altar-cloths, or Communion plate. I know not whence your friend got his notion of black velvet hangings for his own room. I cannot think any of our forefathers would so have ornamented his room, while so many of the churches of our land are so bare.

We are in danger also lest these ornaments should evaporate into mere sentiment. The Low Church theology has frequent mention of the Cross, and we see that it has degenerated oftentimes into mere words : but as easily may the representation of it become a mere shadow. It may be well to place crosses upon our churches, by our altars, on our altar-cloths ; but all these things should be symbols only, to remind us that as it has been borne for us, so we must bear it. It must come as the expression of that which is within : else it

will be a mere matter of taste and a witness against us. The ancient Church multiplied them and bore them manifoldly : she had the Cross in her heart, took it up daily, and so was privileged safely to behold it in all things, and to impress it in her ministrations.

In a word, practice is the very condition of privileges ; and we are so surrounded and infected with uncatholic self-indulgent practice that we must be the more careful as to everything which we do touching the Cross. Denial of self is the very condition of approaching the Cross.

I wish you would recommend to your friends the thoughtful study of the tract 'On the Providence of God visible in our Liturgy,' No. 86. Its deep humility and very practical spirit must be beneficial to any ; and it would, I think, especially lead to a more practical view of the state in which our Church now is.

In a word, it seems plainly a part of Christian charity to avoid all peculiarities which may be helped : all to whom the Catholicity of our Church has been brought home have a responsibility laid upon them ; on them and their conduct it may depend how far this view of her (which is so calculated to win back those who are now in schism from her and to perfect her) shall be realized : or they may place obstacles to her reception of those very views. But without subdual of self we may be exposed to some grievous fall, from which we have hitherto been preserved, such as the going over of some to Romanism.

Accept my sincere thanks for your sympathy in the course of my visitation ; and believe me, with every good wish,

Yours very faithfully,

E. B. PUSEY.

I am to return to Oxford on the 16th.

I should be sorry needlessly to pain you by speaking of yourself or your friends, but I cannot think that either they or you are adequately impressed with the responsibility of your situation : they (from what I have heard) have taken up shreds and patches of the Catholic system, without troubling themselves with its realities, its duties, its self-denial, its reverence ; and they are really in the way to cause good to be evil spoken of, and have done so already. It is tricking up an idol, and that idol, self : not serving God. I must pain you by so writing, and I am sorry to do so ; but I really feel that I cannot write strongly enough, if by any means this veil could be torn off your friends' eyes, and they taught to act as men who have to give account of their several actions before the judgment-seat of Christ, and so act reverently and soberly, not amuse themselves (for it is nothing better) with holy things.

And allow me one word more of advice to yourself : which is, do not think that you have possession of any new thing (which is apt to puff people up). What you have which is true has been taught quietly and unostentatiously by many in all times before you : it is in the Catechism

and-Liturgy : it has only been brought out into open day and seems new to those who had forgotten it. Do not act or think as though you were the Apostle of some new doctrine ; but inculcate duty simply, plainly, and earnestly ; and labour (as we all should) to be more penitential, simple, and humble-minded yourself. Contribute, if you anyhow may, to build churches in your destitute district : catechize your children : and recollect that you have not been called into the vineyard to preach a system, much less the externals of a system, but to tend your Master's sheep and lambs, to feed them and guard them, as one who will have to give account. You will not, I trust, think that I have taken too much upon myself in writing thus plainly, but will regard it as a proof of sincerity and good will.

Oct. 12, 1839.

Mr. Russell wrote an explanation, which Pusey read with satisfaction. In a second letter Pusey writes :—

I trust that you may be enabled to act uniformly with simplicity, humility, meekness, tranquillity, bearing in mind how much is at stake, how much risk there is from any superficial embracing of those views that any formation of a party tends to superficialize. Misrepresented you will doubtless be anyhow : only the more prospect of this there is, the more cautious must you be. I think that the proposal that all clergy holding certain views should on the same day resume Edward the Sixth's dresses bears the character of party, and it has been so regarded. For myself (but this is a matter of feeling) I should be sorry to find myself in a richer dress until the Church were in a happier state. At present we have the surplice for a token of purity, and the scarf as the emblem of Christ's yoke. But beyond this I should deprecate anything which could serve as the badge of party : at present, much as the opposed party speaks of it, they can find nothing ; but the agreement to adopt a dress which would be peculiar would just furnish them what they want. I wish, if you republish your tract on the Rubric, you would omit all about the dresses, or at least give it a different turn, and not place a Rubric whose interpretation is doubtful on the same footing with those which are distinct. . . .

Committing you to Him, I remain, with much interest,

Yours very faithfully,

E. B. PUSEY.

Among other projects which made their appearance at this time was that of publishing the Sarum Breviary. The portions of the Breviary which English Churchmen could not use are but few. Pusey himself used to use it, when time permitted, as supplementary to the Prayer-book : that is to say, he said prime, terce, sext, none, and compline, omitting matins, lauds, and vespers, which are

already provided for in the Prayer-book. This practice he probably adopted a little time before Mrs. Pusey's death, during the anxieties occasioned by her illness. But he did not at this time often recommend it to others. Deeply as he valued the advantage of using the additional offices contained in the Breviary, he was yet afraid that the practice might in some cases foster what he himself never felt, a dissatisfaction with the more limited range of the daily offices of the Anglican Prayer-book. Probably the proposal to print the Sarum form of it was partly suggested by a more thorough study of the services from which the Book of Common Prayer was immediately derived, a study to which a considerable impulse had been given by the Rev. W. Palmer's '*Origines Liturgicae.*' Partly too it was due to the increasing desire for that larger devotional use of the Psalter which the Breviary services satisfy with such originality and completeness; and if the Breviary was to be used it was more loyal to fall back on the old English form out of which the Prayer-book had so largely been taken, than on the Roman, which the English Church had never used at any period of its history. But then the Sarum Breviary was difficult to meet with: it was only to be found in a few college and cathedral libraries, or on the shelves of a book collector here or there. It had never been reprinted since Queen Mary's day¹; while the Roman Breviary was to be had in every form from any Roman Catholic bookseller. Thus when Mr. Newman wrote his tract on the Breviary in 1836 he used the Roman. The first mention of this project is in the following letter:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Christ Church, Feb. 21, 1840.

. . . I have undertaken to ask your opinion about the following plans.

(a) Publishing the Salisbury Breviary in the original as a document, and as less likely to invite people to Rome than the Roman, which is said to be now in much use.

¹ The Cambridge University Press has within the last few years nobly removed this discredit, through the labours of Mr. Procter and Mr. Wordsworth.

(*b*) Publishing the S. B., but marking what cannot be shown to be Catholic, either by inclosing it in brackets or by omitting it in the text and putting it in a note at the foot of the page.

(*c*) *Translating* the S. B., reformed upon certain principles, as admitting nothing which is controversial, except what has the sanction of Edward the Sixth's first book. This would admit of the Prayers for the Departed Saints, and the mention of the name of the Blessed Virgin in commemoration, but exclude the mention of the intercession of the Saints.

(*d*) Publishing the S. B. (original), either entire, or as in *b*, at the same time with *c*. It was thought that it might be understood that only *c* was recommended for use; *a* or *b* was published as a document only. (The plan is that of younger men.)

Keble's answer has been lost, but Newman writes to Pusey:—

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, March 17, 1840.

I am very much pleased at your and K.'s plan about the Salisbury Breviary. It is important that we should be beforehand with the R. C.'s in doing it. I have a repugnance to mutilating or garbling it, considering we abuse the S. P. C. K. for so doing towards Bishop Wilson. The plan of first giving the text, and then adjusting it to K. Edward's first book, seems to get over the difficulty without seeming to recommend what we do not wish.

Somewhat later Keble was quite clear as to what he would recommend.

REV. J. KEBLE TO E. B. P.

Hursley, March 30, 1840.

I have been into Winchester to-day, and spent some time in endeavouring to find out a Sarum Breviary which professes to be in the College Library; but as that is in great disorder at present I could not light upon it. I do not like putting off my answer to your last note any longer; and therefore I think I am ready to say that I should approve of the publication of it as a document, and of a selection of parts to be translated for a devotional book, on the principle of taking such things only as are virtually sanctioned by Edward the Sixth's first book. It seems to me that in this way we go as nearly as we can expect to providing our readers with the good of the Breviary without the harm of the more irreverent parts.

This reply was thought to be somewhat unfavourable; and although a plan of publication by subscription was set on foot it came for the present to nothing. Pusey himself, on reflection, hesitated.

'For myself,' he wrote to Newman, 'I do not object to the plan; but should hardly like to be prominent. I have fears for our people, until I hear more of their acting up to the principles of our Church, fasting, &c.'

Naturally enough, at the same time there were proposals for reprinting Eastern Liturgies. Bishop Andrewes had long ago led the English Church to understand the wealth of devotion which they contain. The question was brought before the Publishing Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria was anxious that their Liturgy should be reprinted in England 'as unmutilated by the Romanists.' Dr. Mill, the Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, was afraid that there might be invocations, &c. which we could not sanction, and Monophysite language as well.

E. B. P. TO REV. B. HARRISON.

Christ Church, Feb. 17, 1840.

I fear that there will be great difficulty in printing the Eastern Liturgies. I suppose the Patriarch might be induced to get rid of the Monophysitism, but the invocations would be more difficult. For though our Article only condemns 'the *Romish* doctrine concerning it,' we have been so little accustomed to the thought of the communion of saints, or of their praying for us at all, that we are likely to be bad judges what is and what is not sound, and, if we interfered, might do mischief. — said that the only formula they had recognizing such intercession was an address to our Lord, 'By the intercession of' (I forget the words) 'deliver us.' But I doubt whether he was to be depended on. Whom do you mean by 'the Patriarch'? I suppose, by the mention of Monoph[ysitism], of Alexandria. Might we not succeed at Antioch or Jerusalem?

In the same letter Pusey touches on a kindred and much more important subject.

'What,' he asks Harrison, 'should hinder communion from being restored with the Orthodox Greek Church? Does it seem that we need insist on their receiving the *Filioque*, or that they would not enter into communion with us because we retain it?'

And he explains his meaning more fully in another letter.

E. B. P. TO REV. B. HARRISON.

Christ Church, Feb. 21, 1840.

I did not mean, in what I said about the *Filioque*, to refer to the

printing of the Creed for the Eastern Church, but whether the difference was one which should prevent our being in communion with them.

It will come as a painful question to many, and to some be a difficulty as to our Church (as they come to see the perfect unity of Antiquity), why are we in communion with no other Church except our own sisters or daughters?

We cannot have communion with Rome; why should we not with the *Orthodox* Greek Church? Would they reject us, or must we keep aloof? Certainly one should have thought that those who have not conformed with Rome would, practically, be glad to be strengthened by intercourse with us, and to be countenanced by us. One should have hoped that they would have been glad to be re-united with a large Christian Church exterior to themselves, provided we need not insist upon their adopting the *Filioque*.

Harrison answered this question in the words of the great Cambridge divine whose learning and sympathies commanded the greatest respect at Oxford.

‘Dr. Mill,’ he wrote, ‘says that, politically, Russia strengthens the exclusive feeling of the Greek Church, wishing herself, I mean Russia, to be regarded as the sole party capable of acting as arbiter in such matters. He also says he has always found members of the Greek Church very tenacious on the point of the *Filioque*. They always begin at once on the controversy of “the Procession.”’

During this year Pusey was busy among other things in a correspondence on the ‘Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill,’ and also in preparation for his edition of Tertullian. On the former question he objected strongly to the indefiniteness of the Bill, to the proposed disposal of ecclesiastical property in a manner different from the intention of the original donors, and generally to any measure of the kind when the Church was not clearly in its favour.

As regards Tertullian, he contemplated an edition of the original text, and indeed obtained collations of most of the extant manuscripts; but this part of the work was suspended in the hope that an absolutely exhaustive collation of MSS. would make the text of the African Father less difficult. Pusey never carried out this part of his plan: the admirable translation of Tertullian’s Apologetic and Practical Treatises, by the Rev. C. Dodgson, Rector of Croft, and afterwards Archdeacon, was made from the unsatisfactory text of

Rigaltius, with only a very few corrections¹. But at this date the larger project was in full view, and Pusey neglected no opportunity of obtaining information or enlisting assistance which might promote it. In a letter to the venerable President of Magdalen, Dr. Routh, he says:—

‘Christ Church, April 1, 1840.

‘I have been trying to obtain collations of Tertullian from Paris, Leyden, and Rome. . . . My plan, of late, with regard to collations, has been to try to obtain collations of English MSS., and of such foreign ones, as were most valuable for their age. Of Tertullian I am trying to obtain collations, wherever there are any MSS. which promise to be of any value.’

Later in the year Pusey heard that Mr. J. R. Hope, of Merton College, was going to Italy. In taking leave of him, Pusey suggested several places where manuscripts might be collated, and followed up the conversation by a supplemental letter. Mr. Hope was accompanied by Mr. Frederic Rogers, afterwards Lord Blachford. They gave their time most generously to carrying out Pusey’s wishes. Mr. Hope was in weak health, and his companion had weak eyes; but they worked hard at collating nevertheless, first at Munich and afterwards in Italy. Pusey’s keen interest in the subject is shown in many letters which would necessarily be dry enough in the eyes of any but scholars. Mr. Hope indeed did Dr. Pusey the essential service of placing him in communication with Mr. Heyse, a German scholar, whose work was of essential service to Pusey, and of whom we shall hear more hereafter.

During the Christmas Vacation of 1839, Pusey preached twice at least at Brighton—on the Holy Innocents’ Day at Trinity Chapel, and on the First Sunday after Christmas at St. Peter’s, by the wish of the Vicar, the Rev. H. M. Wagner. In 1840 he preached before the University on Septuagesima Sunday; he asked Newman to look at the sermon beforehand, as ‘being on high doctrine in part, though I believe all out of the Fathers.’ A second Uni-

¹ ‘Tertullian,’ translated by the Rev. C. Dodgson, M.A., pref. xvii. Oxford, Parker (2nd ed.), 1854.

versity sermon on Obedience was preached on November 1st at Christ Church: this sermon was preached again in 1845 at St. Saviour's, Leeds¹. His most remarkable sermon, however, in this year was preached at St. Paul's, Bristol, in aid of a new church, exhibiting with great power the direct connexion which exists between the personal devotion of the soul to Christ and work for the extension of the Church².

During the first years of the Oxford Movement, as has been said, the Church of Rome, in its proselytizing aspects, was scarcely heard of. But before 1840 a change was already perceptible. Bishop Wiseman had his eye on the 'Tracts for the Times'; and there were a few instances of unsettlement or secession in private life. Pusey spent a great deal of time in corresponding with a tradesman who had seceded, and with a lady who was hesitating. He consulted Archdeacon Manning as to the best way of dealing practically with persons thus troubled. The Archdeacon wrote him a long account of his own method, which had, apparently, been successful. He first of all insisted on general principles; *à priori* arguments, he concluded, were inadmissible. There was no proof either in Scripture or history of the infallibility of the Roman Church. All the assurance which Roman Catholics have was attainable in the English Church. To become a Roman Catholic was to commit the sin of schism, to become responsible 'for all the abuses of Romanism,' and to be guilty of ingratitude to God for His gifts through the English Church. Then followed discussions in detail on transubstantiation, the supremacy of the Pope, the Apostolic succession, and autonomy of the English Church.

Newman, too, was at work on his article on 'The Catholicity of the English Church'³. It was an attempt 'to see if a great deal could not be said after all for the Anglican Church, in spite of its acknowledged shortcomings'⁴. The

¹ 'Leeds Sermons,' on Repentance and Amendment of Life: Sermon 13, 2nd edition. Oxford, 1847.

² 'Sermons on Various Occasions,' Sermon 2.

³ *British Critic*, Jan. 1840.

⁴ 'Apologia,' p. 230.

argument of the article came to a great deal more than this; and Pusey was pleased with it.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[Brighton, Dec. 31, 1839.]

I like your article very much. I only wish you had dwelt more upon the case of the Greek Church; we make but a poor appearance against the Roman communion, but practically the question with people will be, Are we safe out of communion—not with the Catholic Church, but—with Rome? Here, then, I think we might take refuge under the shadow of the Greek Church; people who might doubt whether we were not schismatical, on account of the smallness of our communion, and might have misgivings about ourselves, would feel that the language of the Fathers would not apply, when it would cut off 90,000,000 in one Orthodox Church.

Newman was glad to get Pusey's approval. The Roman argument from our being in a minority could only be opposed by making men acquainted with the Fathers, and showing that the Roman Catholics are wanting in deference to them.

'If so,' he added, 'the translation of their writings is the greatest boon which could be given to the Church; and if it were not presumptuous to say so, there would seem to have been some secret Providence directing you to the project of translation.'

As to the Greek Church, Newman 'did not do more than allude to it in his article, knowing so little about it.'

The question was by no means an abstract or unpractical one. 'Things are progressing steadily,' writes Newman to Bowden on January 10, 1840, 'but breakers ahead! The danger of a lapse into Romanism, I think, gets greater daily. I expect to hear of victims¹.' Pusey was anxious to enlist Newman's sympathies in a case which was occasioning anxiety to several of his friends.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Brighton, Jan. 12, 1840.

I have heard in three quarters very uncomfortable things said about Robert Williams: he gives people painful impressions, and they have misgivings and fears about him. Keble, I recollect, some time

¹ Newman's 'Letters,' ii. 297.

ago, was one ; then very lately Oakeley, not naming him, but, by letter, saying what, I assume, meant him ; lastly Manning, who has seen but little of him. What has struck all is that his *ήθος* is not that of our Church, his affections not with her (this last I know you feel), but also that he has a supercilious way of speaking about sacred things in our Church, which must be hurtful to his own habits of mind, and one knows not where it might not lead him to. His giving up the translation of the Breviary was calculated to do him good, but that light tone of mind (or at least the appearance of it) seems to have prevailed again ; it deters many. But what one is chiefly concerned about is, that it seems to lay him open to some subtle snare, which may be laid for him, one knows not how. He would mind you, perhaps. I wish he would practise some rigid rule as to his speech.

Newman was despondent. The case was more serious than Pusey had supposed.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel, Jan. 15, 1840.

As to R. W. I have *resigned* him in my own mind some time. He is quite aware and has expressed sorrow for his random speaking before now. I hear that he is very much changed *ordinarily* in that respect, and that seems to me the most alarming sign. He is too serious a man to have felt himself inclined to Romanism *while* he spoke so lightly ; but his changing his tone looked as if he felt it was no jesting matter.

Since I read Dr. W[iseman's] article I have desponded much ; for, I said to myself, if even I feel myself pressed hard, what will others who have either not thought so much on the subject or have fewer retarding motives ?

The subject of this correspondence engaged, as was natural, for some time the anxious attention both of Newman and Pusey. 'R. W.,' wrote Newman to Pusey on July 8, 'is in a very anxious state.' Later, on July 28 :—

'R. W. is stationary at present ; but what is to be done with a man who begins with assuming as a first principle which is incontrovertibly borne in upon his mind that the Roman is the Catholic Church, that therefore the Tridentine Decrees are eternal truths, that to oppose them is heresy, that all who sign the Thirty-nine Articles do oppose them, and that it is a sin to be in communion with heretics ? He is as docile and patient as any one can be. If you wish to see a letter I have had from him, I will send it ; but I hardly know if he contemplates your seeing it. Perhaps he does.'

Pusey, as was his wont, thought that the difficulty might be as much due to moral mistakes in the past as to any real occasion of intellectual embarrassment.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Brighton, Aug. 3, 1840.

I am glad that R. W. is stationary. The only hope of his recovery seems to be in the way which you suggested for my patient, 'Whence does this persuasion come?' 'A first principle borne in upon his mind' is inspiration or temptation, and earnest-minded as he now is, he will be, I hope, humble-minded enough to acknowledge that it is as likely to be temptation. He ran into it years past, when I was at Weymouth. Arthur Acland spoke to me with pain of the light way in which he had been and was in the habit of speaking, the strange things he would say repelling people who were on their way to Catholicism. Surely he must feel that he is likely enough to be suffering from this past want of self-discipline and control, and that he has opened the door to suggestions from the evil one. I should be interested to see the letter.

Newman forwarded the letter, adding with regard to its writer the following remark:—

'He has not used any words *at all* like "irresistibly borne in upon him"—nothing can be more quiet or sober than his whole deportment. His single perplexity is, How can there be more than one true Church, when Scripture speaks of "one body"?'

In returning the letter Pusey deeply regretted the state of mind which it revealed, and added:—

'The words "irresistibly borne in upon the mind" were yours. It is a melancholy letter; so calmly persuaded that his Church has not the faith; is opposed to it; and that, I suppose, on the points in which the Roman Church is weakest; and that he himself has the faith, but no Church, and was born out of the true faith. It is a sad picture; and this for one who has access to antiquity. However, all that can be said you will have said, so I need not add to your sorrow by commenting. It is, on the whole, a great relief to see the letter; one may hope that light will come to him out of darkness, if he wait patiently, as he is doing.'

Archdeacon Manning also was consulting Pusey as to a lawyer in a similar difficulty: the Archdeacon insisted on the objection to the Roman claims which was presented by the Eastern Church. He feared that these were only the

beginning of troubles. They made him sick and weary ; but they were a moral discipline.

The same subject is referred to, at this time, by Harrison. He suggested that an order of nursing sisters 'would be a vent for zeal which seems at present, for want of an authorized channel, to be in danger of running into Romanism.' It is clear that Pusey had this plan already in his mind. Newman writes to Bowden on Feb. 21, 1840 :—

'Pusey is at present eager about setting up Sisters of Mercy. I feel sure that such institutions are the only means of saving some of our best members from turning Roman Catholics¹.'

Indeed, the Roman controversy, even at this date, added considerably to Pusey's work : he thought no trouble too great if he could arrest the tendency to Rome in any mind, and he became in consequence more and more liable to be consulted by persons, in all classes of life, who found themselves in difficulties on the subject. He even read religious novels like 'Geraldine,' although he could ill spare the time, in order to be able to counteract their influence upon the minds of others. Of 'Geraldine' he wrote almost fiercely as a book 'likely to do extensive mischief.' The current, however, did not run all one way.

'Your information,' writes Pusey to Mr. J. R. Hope, 'was very interesting to me. I hope there is a turning of the hearts of the fathers to the children, and among our own colonies of the children to the fathers also. You will have heard of a second person who had forsaken our communion for Rome, rejoining it at Oakeley's chapel.'

It is clear that at this time the leaders of the Tractarian movement were keenly conscious of the growing tendency to defection towards Rome. They were, in their several ways, endeavouring to diminish the dangers. But at the moment of such anxieties from their own adherents, there were gathering against them from without three forces of opposition of very different kinds. There was the sincere, but almost fanatical, animosity of the Puritan spirit, so long dominant in some parts of the country. There was the

¹ Newman's 'Letters,' ii. 298.

growing hostility of the Theological Liberals, who, with all professions of charity in other directions, have always shown a rancorous and intolerant hatred to dogma and sacerdotalism. And there was behind both the vast mass of the Church of England, to some extent indifferent, certainly prejudiced, but at least liable to be aroused to opposition to anything doubtful, strange, and innovating.

There was thus a formidable opposition, whose weight the most statesmanlike and tolerant of the Bishops could not wholly ignore; while in Oxford itself there was a body of respectable and traditional authority, wanting in interest and insight, who viewed with increasing dislike the spread of strange principles, forgotten or ignored, the force and depth of which they did not in any degree appreciate. Such a body was at hand ready to be stimulated into action by the younger and more energetic spirits amongst them, who were watchful for any false step on the part of their Tractarian opponents. Unfortunately, the famous Tract 90 soon gave them the opportunity which was required.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIV.

CORRESPONDENCE.



E. B. P. TO —.

ON CASTING LOTS.

Christ Church, Feb. 21, 1840.

I should dread the casting lots: it might be that I had not faith enough, and do not see that *we* have a right to employ them in so solemn a matter. I should have thought the better way would have been to have postponed the subject for a time (until after Easter), and using Lent as a time of humiliation, pray God to enlighten one's mind, and to put into it the thought which He knew to be best. It might be a subject of prayer before receiving the Holy Communion. I should have been afraid of the casting lots, lest it should arise from a wearisomeness of indecision, instead of waiting patiently for the time when He would enable one to decide according to His will.

I will try, when I can, to give you a better opinion: as it is, I should be afraid of it.

ON THE SAME.

Christ Church, Feb. 25, 1840.

I cannot come to any other conclusion about lots. Were you to try them, and they fell out one way, I should be thankful—if the other, *I* should not be satisfied. It seems to me to be risking the more excellent way. For myself, it seems to me clear to what you are called, though, at first, I did not feel myself entitled to lay upon you what I had never been called upon to decide for myself: my own way of life had looked one way since I was eighteen, and the question which you have to decide was never brought before me.

But I do strongly feel (as far as one can judge for another) that you are being led to be an example, if it may be, of the higher way of life, and yourself to the higher holiness than I imagine you would attain to in the ordinary way. God guide you. I have done as you asked, sincerely, and was glad that we were near each other at St. Mary's.

Christ Church, Sept. 20, 1840.

All blessings attend you and yours to-morrow! With me all earthly joy has become such a dream that I seem scarcely to have the faculty to understand it. However, I will hope and pray that whether amid joy or sorrow, together or alone, you may help each other onwards, heavenwards.

E. B. P. TO DR. THOLUCK.

Christ Church, Nov. 19, 1839.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you very much, and God bless you for all your kind thought of me in my heavy chastisement. He has been very merciful to me throughout; He supported me with hopes for a long time, and enabled me not to think of anything beyond the day; and then, when He saw fit not to fulfil them, He gently loosed my hold of them, and at last He took her on the evening of a great day, Trinity Sunday. And I trust that He taught me all along that it was 'good for me to be in trouble,' so that when I once thought that He had heard the prayers of my friends, and stopped the disease, I was frightened at the greatness of the mercy: but this was a weak faith; and now I hope that I feel that it is good for me to be thus, though it had been far better not to have required this chastisement. However, 'it is the Lord, let Him do as seemeth Him good.' 'Shall a living man complain, a man for the punishment of his sins?' What troubles me sorest is, that her talents and clear mind fitted her to be of great use to the children, at least, of the Church. For myself, what happens in this life matters very little, so that I am but enabled to 'sow in tears,' that I may 'reap in joy.' And for this, you will pray for me (as I do daily for a blessing on your labours), and for this end I tell you all this.

I am sorry that your commission has fared so ill. I was absent when it arrived, and I put it into the hands of the Sub-Librarian at the Bodleian. To him I forwarded your last directions; he returned me for answer, that the only person to be found to do it (a Jewish convert and teacher here), asked (he thought) too much, £10: this answer I sent to the English clergyman from whom I received your commission, and asked him to communicate with your friend. I have not heard from him, and have forgotten his name, so I am obliged to apply to you. Would your friend, if I cannot find any one else, think £10 too much? When I have the answer, no more time shall be lost if possible.

I thank you for your remarks upon our position; but I have good courage that we can maintain it, not as relying on my own knowledge, but because our Church has always held it, and it has been kept these 300 years. The position is 'Whatever is Catholic is true': and the proof of Catholicity 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.' We are not responsible then for the sentiments of any individual Fathers: they may have been severally wrong in different points, may have interpreted Scripture wrongly. We have to do, not with the judgment of individuals, but with their testimony to facts: we look upon them as witnesses of what was received as Catholic truth; and this we also receive. E. g. St. Irenaeus may be right or wrong about the Millennium: it is known not to have been a Catholic doctrine, therefore I am not bound to it because it is found in him, though in forming one's own views one should take his opinion into account: or if one

were inclined the other way (as I was), should rather remain in suspense, because he and other early writers are against me, and so leave it among other things which the event shall declare. So as to St. Barnabas' interpretations : I think that, as a body, they go to prove that the ancient interpretation was much more typical than the modern, as certainly that of the New Testament is ; but, supposing the Epistle to be genuine (about which I am not clear), we are still not bound to accept every interpretation, as we should be if it were a Canonical book. (And I am persuaded more and more that everything in the book of God's Word, as of His world, is highly typical : nothing stands alone, but everything is full of eyes, looking every way.) So then I think that St. Barnabas' Epistle might be valid, as a testimony that the interpretation of the early Church was of such a character, without its being therefore necessary to adopt each interpretation of his. I should think typical interpretation Catholic and true ; but the details matter of private judgment, for the most part. All Christian antiquity agrees in regarding Scripture as very typical, and this I should therefore accept (even if there were not other grounds for it, as the agreement with the older Jewish writers, and above all with the indications in the New Testament itself) ; about the details there is not this agreement, and so they are left free.

But this is altogether a further point : the main question is a practical one, and one of great moral moment ; it is this. Is a person in duty bound to accept what the Church Catholic has pronounced to be matter of faith, or no ? Is it e.g. a person's duty to receive the articles of the Nicene Creed, on the authority of the Church, whether *he* can prove them by Scripture or no, or even if he think that Scripture goes rather against any one ? Our great divines, and we after them, say, Yes ; *Crede ut intelligas*. We should say, All the articles of the Creed are true, as being the teaching of the 'Church Universal throughout the world' ; if, then, an individual do not see them to be true, he is in fault somewhere ; he should submit, and so he would see. The Ultra-Protestants, on the other hand, deny this necessity of submission, and assert that to be truth which each individual himself derives from Holy Scripture ; and yet they must set up a standard somewhere, else truth must become subjective only, not objective ; and they would pronounce the Socinian to be in fatal error. I believe the difference, when followed out, to be this : the Ultra-Protestant believes 'the good man,' the individual, to be infallibly 'guided into all truth' ; we, the Church Universal. I think that there is a very important difference of *ἡθος* ; and it is, whether people must submit to authority or no. People can interpret Scripture as they please, in great measure, and therefore it often costs them no submission ; they cannot interpret antiquity, because it speaks more definitely, and therefore they rebel against it. And so, in practical matters, people can explain away what Scripture says about 'fasting,' for instance ; but they cannot the practice of the Church. I am sure it will appear more and more that there is a great

difference in the moral character of the two schemes ; the one, that of ' private judgment,' is, at the bottom, founded on ' self,' and it is self-sufficient, unsubdued, irreverent, presumptuous, conceited, dogmatic ; whereas the Catholic system tends to repress self, and to produce reverence. This is, I believe, the true character of the opposed schemes : individuals will be better or worse than their systems, and so also will hold them in different degrees.

I must own that I do not know your Dogmen-Geschichten, for I did not think they were worth knowing. Which could you recommend ? I wish your countrymen knew our Bull (' Defensio Fidei Nicenae ') or Hooker : both are golden works. Poor Mr. Taylor seems to be going on a sad way, and where he will end he probably does not know himself. But he seems sadly arrogant, and I fear that his ungoverned talents will only lead him astray. I have hardly left myself room to express my gladness at your restored sight, and to thank you for the sermons which you kindly sent to my departed one two years ago. She needs them not now, as I trust that she reads God's will in the Countenance of her Lord and God ; but they have an interest. Did you ever read Butler's ' Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the order of Nature ' ? It was badly translated into German formerly, and in your bad times, and not attended to. I think it is the only good book among our Apologists. The argument is, ' If you are not Christians, in consistency you must be Atheists,' which most would shrink from ; so it is an appeal to the faith which yet remains in a man, in support of that which has been shaken. I have been asked to obtain an opinion whether a German or Latin translation would be of use. Will you give me yours ?

God bless and keep and prosper you in all things.

Your very affectionate and obliged friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

I have just republished my tract on ' Baptism,' Part I, of which I hope to send you shortly the third edition ; you would find in it much of my views on types. I wish the Sacraments entered more into your doctrines.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel, St. James' Day, 1840.

The Tracts shall go to Van Diemen's Land, and welcome ; if they have not already gone. Palmer, of Magdalen, wants you to give your ' Baptism ' by him to the Archbishop of Moscow, who has inquired about Oxford views, and I thought I might do so for you without asking you.

A friend of Bishop Doane has been here wishing to see you. He was in the woods of Transylvania before he set out, and being with a bedridden old woman, told her he was going to England, and among other places to Oxford. ' Ah,' she said, ' then you will see that wicked old man who writes tracts.'

CHAPTER XXV.

TRACT 90—GENESIS AND METHOD OF THE TRACT—
LETTER OF THE FOUR TUTORS—NEWMAN'S REPLY—
CENSURE PUBLISHED BY THE HEADS OF HOUSES—
OPINIONS ON THE CENSURE—CORRESPONDENCE WITH
THE BISHOP—DIFFICULTIES OF THE SITUATION—AN
ARRANGEMENT—NEWMAN'S LETTER TO THE BISHOP—
PALMER'S PROPOSED DECLARATION—PUSEY'S LETTER
TO JELF.

1841.

CARDINAL NEWMAN has told the world what was the place of Tract 90 in the history of his own mind, and how his mind came to have the history which he describes¹. The object of the Oxford Movement, as he no less than Pusey and Keble understood it, was to withstand the tendency towards unbelief inherent in the theological Liberalism of the day, by the reassertion of those principles of primitive Catholicism which the Church of England, as it then was, was so largely overlooking. They knew that it could not be withstood by criticizing it. It would only be vanquished by a definite creed, held on adequate historical grounds.

But where was this definite and primitive creed to be found? The Church of Rome, on the one hand, confessedly had a definite creed; but then there were objections to certain features of the Roman creed on the ground of Scripture and of Christian antiquity; and these objections were constantly insisted on by the professors of theological Liberalism as being in fact fatal to the claims of any definite creed whatever. One way of getting over the difficulty was to close the eyes to the force of the objections in question, and to identify the cause of positive and

¹ 'Apologia,' p. 195.

definite Christianity with that of the Roman Church. This course was already in 1839 and 1840 finding favour among some of the younger adherents of the Movement. But such a course was impossible—for Pusey always, and for Newman at the time in question. They knew that the modern Roman Catholic system was far from being identical with the teaching of Catholic antiquity; and that theological Liberalism could not be resisted in the long run by any system, however strong and consistent, which was at issue with the facts of history. But on the other hand, in reply to the claim that the requisite characteristics of definiteness and antiquity are to be found in the creed of the Church of England, these younger men pointed to the Thirty-nine Articles as contradicting the teaching of Catholic antiquity. So far as the generally accepted interpretation of the Articles was concerned, there was no doubt much to be said for their contention. It became therefore a very practical matter indeed to inquire whether this popular interpretation of the Articles was the only true and necessary interpretation of them. Tract 90 was an effort to answer that question.

Cardinal Newman has described the motive which led him to write the most famous of the Tracts as follows:—

‘The great stumbling-block lay in the Thirty-nine Articles. It was urged that here was a positive note *against* Anglicanism: Anglicanism claimed to hold that the Church of England was nothing else than a continuation in this country (as the Church of Rome might be in France or Spain), of that one Church of which in old times Athanasius and Augustine were members. But, if so, the doctrine must be the same; the doctrine of the Old Church must live and speak in Anglican formularies, in the Thirty-nine Articles. Did it? Yes, it did; that is what I maintained; it did in substance, in a true sense. Man had done his worst to disfigure, to mutilate, the old Catholic Truth, but there it was, in spite of them, in the Articles still. It was there, but this must be shown. It was a matter of life and death to us to show it. And I believed that it could be shown¹.’

In this account there is perhaps a certain ambiguity in the expression ‘the Old Church.’ If the object of the tract had been to show that the Articles might be so interpreted as to

¹ ‘*Apologia*,’ pp. 231, 232.

sanction the whole system of belief and practice current in the Western Church in days immediately preceding the Reformation, it would have been indefensible. But if by 'the Old Church' was meant—as Newman implies by the reference to Athanasius and Augustine—the Church of the Fathers, upon whose faith and practice the West had subsequently more or less innovated, then Tract 90 was a wholesome and necessary effort to rescue a formulary of the Church of England from popular glosses which were, to say the least, misleading and mischievous. Indeed, in less troubled times it seems astonishing that any one should seriously endeavour to interpret a carefully-worded set of Articles by any other standard than the language of historical theology.

Although, as has been already implied, the tract was written to meet a necessity of the moment, Newman had meditated a commentary on the Articles some years before. The 'actual cause' of his writing about them at the beginning of 1841 was, he says,

'the restlessness, actual and prospective, of those who neither liked the *Via Media*, nor my strong judgment against Rome. I had been enjoined, I think by my Bishop, to keep these men straight, and I wished so to do. But their tangible difficulty was subscription to the Articles, and thus the question of the Articles came before me¹.'

And that this was the author's feeling at the time is illustrated by the subjoined passage.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel, March 10, 1841.

As to the tract, I felt it was necessary for others—else I should not have done it. I do think that an alternative is coming on, when a Bishop must consent to allow what really does seem to me quite a legitimate interpretation, or to witness quasi-secessions, if not real ones, from the Church.

The tract was published in order to show that

'while our Prayer-book is acknowledged on all hands to be of Catholic origin, our Articles also, the offspring of an uncatholic age, are through God's good providence, to say the least, not uncatholic, and may be subscribed by those who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine².'

¹ 'Apologia,' p. 158.

² Tract No. 90, Introduction, p. 4.

With this view the writer reviews fourteen of the Articles, insisting on the exact and literal sense, and carefully separating that sense from the glosses which had been attached to the words by Puritan or Latitudinarian commentators. He is less happy, as would be natural, in some parts of his task than in others; but the general result was summarized by Pusey, after an interval of a quarter of a century, in the deliberate language which the lapse of time and the experience of many troubled years entitled him to use.

‘For myself, I believe that Tract 90 did a great work in clearing the Articles from the glosses, which, like barnacles, had encrusted round. I believe that that work will never be undone while the Articles shall last. Men will gloss them as they did before, according to their preconceived opinions, or as guided by the Puritan system of belief; but they cannot do so undisputed. Even the Four Tutors, in their censure upon Tract 90, seem to have been half conscious of the force of the appeal to “the literal and grammatical interpretation.” So long as that interpretation shall be applied, it will be impossible either to condemn Tract 90, or to import into the Articles the traditional system so long identified with them¹.’

To the popular eye, Tract 90 seemed to mark a new departure. But in reality it was not so new, even for the Tractarians, as it appeared to be. The main outlines of its interpretation of the Articles had been adopted previously by Pusey and Keble as well as by Newman²; they had ‘gradually and independently of one another’ laid aside ‘a traditional system which had imported into the Articles a good many principles which were not contained in them, nor suggested by them, yet which were habitually identified with them³.’ It may be remarked, in illustration of this, that Pusey’s ‘Letter to the Bishop of Oxford,’ written two years before, had gone over much of the same ground, although with the distinct object of vindicating the Oxford writers from the charge of Romanizing⁴. And, although

¹ Historical Preface to Tract 90, by E. B. P., p. xxxv; 4th edition, 1870.

² *Ibid.*, p. iv; Newman’s ‘Letters and Correspondence,’ i. 239.

³ Historical Preface to Tract 90, by E. B. P., p. v.

⁴ ‘Letter to Bishop of Oxford,’ pp. 22, 182, 183, &c.

the tract throughout contained a great deal of matter which was unwelcome to the popular theology, it would probably have escaped the attacks to which it was exposed but for its treatment of Articles XXII. and XXXI.

The tract was published on Saturday, February 27th, 1841. It at once commanded attention throughout the country, and this result was accentuated by a debate on Maynooth in the House of Commons which happened to take place within a week of its publication. Lord Morpeth, when defending the Maynooth grant against Mr. Colquhoun, had invidiously contrasted the principles of Maynooth, with which Parliament was well acquainted when it voted the grant, with those of a Protestant University, some members of which were allowed to 'disclaim' or explain away the doctrine of the Church to which they professedly belonged. The attack took the form of innuendo, and not of direct statement; but it attracted a great deal of notice. Mr. O'Connell observed that his quarrel with the Oxford writers was that they continued to uphold the Thirty-nine Articles. In the daily press, *The Times* was distinguished by the calm justice of its observations:—

'Whatever may be the merits or the faults of the gentlemen at Oxford to whom Lord Morpeth and Mr. O'Connell alluded, it is notoriously false to say that any one of them ever thought of "disclaiming" any single doctrine of the Church to which he belongs: the whole aim and object of their teaching is to recommend certain doctrines as *identical* with those of the Liturgy, Canons, and Articles of the Church of England. They prefer indeed to rescue from Popery the appellation of Catholic, which has ever been the inheritance of all Apostolic Churches, and they are not over-zealous for the denomination of Protestant, which occurs nowhere in the Prayer-book, which expresses no positive belief, and which is the common property of all who are separated from Rome, however widely differing among themselves. But we think it will be difficult for any man to show that in this respect, or any other, their doctrine or practice (whether erroneous or not) contradicts any oaths which they have sworn: and we wish all who speak ill of them were equally blameless in this respect.

'We have said so much as this, not because we desire to identify ourselves with the opinions of the gentlemen in question (who, after all, as Sir Robert Inglis truly said, are not the University of Oxford), but partly because we were formerly led, on the very authority quoted

by Lord Morpeth, to speak of them in terms of harshness which we now regret; and partly because it appears to us unjust and unmanly to single out absent and unrepresented men for an attack in the House of Commons, without any previous notice¹

In a second article on the subject, *The Times* used language which may well be described as historical, when describing the results which the Oxford Movement had already produced. After referring to the meeting 'at the house of the late Rev. Hugh James Rose,' and the resolution to insist 'on the distinctive principles distinguishing the doctrine of the Church of England from all modern innovations, whether Popish or Protestant, and identifying it with the primitive faith of the Universal Church,' the writer proceeds:—

'Their teaching has now sunk deeply into the heart of the Church of England; it has acquired not merely a numerical, but a moral power and influence, which must henceforth make it impossible for any statesman to despise and overlook, and highly indiscreet for any political party unnecessarily to alienate, this element in the constitution of society. The younger clergy are said to be very generally of this school; it has no want of advocates among their seniors; it has penetrated into both Houses of Parliament; and we are confidently informed (we suppose, therefore, upon some foundation) that it has met with countenance from the Bishops themselves. It has completely succeeded in awakening in the Church that vital spirit of reaction, the necessity for which called it into existence. We hear nothing *now* of a demand for the admission of Dissenters into the Universities, of proposals to abolish subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, or of contemplated changes in the Liturgy; or, if we do still hear of them, the manner in which they are received, as contrasted with their popularity in 1833, illustrates the completeness of the victory still more forcibly².'

Pusey would probably have left Lord Morpeth's statement unchallenged, if he had been personally attacked, but he felt that higher interests were at stake. Lord Morpeth answered his letter at length, and with characteristic courtesy; but he declined to modify his statements, while admitting that his acquaintance with the literature which he had criticized so severely was slight, and that his impressions might be unfounded.

¹ *The Times*, March 4, 1841.

² *Ibid.*, March 6, 1841.

Lord John Russell too had made an assertion in the House which was calculated to create anxiety. Mr. Perceval wrote to ask Pusey 'whether there is the slightest foundation for the alleged "notorious fact" in Lord John Russell's speech, namely, that many (? any) of the Oxford students have of late renounced the pale of the English Church.' Pusey could reply confidently: 'I did not see Lord John Russell's speech, though I did Lord Morpeth's. There is not a particle of truth of any Oxford student having left the Church; we have been preserved from it hitherto, and I trust, by God's mercy, we shall be. But there is no knowing what may come, so we must not boast. I trust, however, people love and are grateful for their Church, and so will be under no temptation to leave.'

Meanwhile in Oxford war had been declared against the Tractarians in good earnest. A meeting of their opponents was held in the rooms of the Rev. Edward Cockey, Fellow of Wadham College: it consisted of the Rev. C. P. Golightly, of Oriel College, who had been the most prominent in stirring up the agitation; the Rev. A. C. Tait, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College¹; the Rev. Thomas Brancker, Fellow and Divinity Lecturer of Wadham College; the Rev. T. T. Churton, Vice-Principal and Tutor of Brasenose College; the Rev. H. B. Wilson, Fellow and Senior Tutor of St. John's College; and the Rev. John Griffiths, Sub-Warden and Tutor of Wadham College. At this meeting a letter to the Editor of the Tracts, the draft of which was prepared by Mr. Tait, was discussed, altered, and finally thrown into its existing form. Mr. Cockey and Mr. Brancker did not sign it, lest it should have the appearance of proceeding too largely from Wadham College. It was thought advisable that Mr. Golightly should not sign because he held no office in his college or in the University. Some tutors in other colleges, 'known to disapprove of the "Tracts for the Times,"' were 'asked to join in the letter, but declined.' In

¹ It is interesting to notice this, the first occasion in which the future Archbishop was publicly found on the side of intolerance and of popular

religious sentiment, in opposition to the more Catholic theology of the Tractarians.

the event it bore the signatures, as Pusey remarked, of two Latitudinarians and two Evangelicals. With Mr. Wilson and Mr. Tait were associated Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Churton.

The letter of the Four Tutors, as it is called, was an expression of popular prejudice rather than a serious theological criticism. It complained that Tract 90 suggested 'that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England'; it laid stress on the interpretations of Articles XXII. and XXXI. The tract, it urged, 'limited the reference of these Articles to certain absurd practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do.' The letter even complained of the reference in the tract to the declaration prefixed to the Articles, as warranting the taking them in their 'literal and grammatical sense'; and after a few more sentences, there follows a demand that the tract-writer's name (which was, of course, perfectly well known to the four tutors) should be made known to the world ¹.

¹ The text of the letter of the Four Tutors runs as follows:—

To the Editor of the 'Tracts for the Times.'

SIR,—Our attention having been called to No. 90 in the series of 'Tracts for the Times by Members of the University of Oxford,' of which you are the Editor, the impression produced on our minds by its contents is of so painful a character that we feel it our duty to intrude ourselves briefly on your notice. This publication is entitled 'Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles'; and, as these Articles are appointed by the Statutes of the University to be the text-book for Tutors in their theological teaching, we hope that the situations we hold in our respective colleges will secure us from the charge of presumption in thus coming forward to address you.

The tract has, in our apprehension, a highly dangerous tendency, from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not

condemned by the Articles of the Church of England: for instance, that those Articles do not contain any condemnation of the doctrines,

1. Of Purgatory,
2. Of Pardons,
3. Of the Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Relics,
4. Of the Invocation of Saints,
5. Of the Mass,

as they are taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome; but only of certain absurd practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do. It is intimated, moreover, that the Declaration prefixed to the Articles, so far as it has any weight at all, sanctions this mode of interpreting them, as it is one which takes them in their 'literal and grammatical sense,' and does not 'affix any new sense' to them. The tract would thus appear to us to have a tendency to mitigate, beyond what charity requires, and to the prejudice of the pure truth of the Gospel, the very serious differences which separate the

The letter was delivered in manuscript to Newman through Mr. J. H. Parker on the evening of Monday, March 8th, the day on which it was written. Newman at once took it to Pusey, and they agreed upon a reply. It was not sent, however, until the following day. Before sending it Newman wrote to Pusey:—

‘Tuesday.

‘Have you anything to say about my *answer*, which is not yet sent? If so, I will come to you.

‘Ought I to give my name? What advantage does it give them over me? On the other hand, if they print their letter, which they mean to do, will it not be a greater advantage over me, for me *to be known yet not to say?*

‘I thought I had better not go into the question with them.’

In the event he sent the following answer, which was dated on the previous night:—

‘The Editor of the “Tracts for the Times” begs to acknowledge the receipt of the very courteous communication of Mr. Churton, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Griffiths, and Mr. Tait, and receives it as expressing the opinion of persons for whom he has much respect and whose names carry great weight.

‘March 8, 1841.

‘To the Rev^d. T. T. Churton, H. B. Wilson, J. Griffiths, and A. C. Tait.’

Church of Rome from our own, and to shake the confidence of the less learned members of the Church of England in the Scriptural character of her formularies and teaching.

We readily admit the necessity of allowing that liberty in interpreting the formularies of our Church, which has been advocated by many of its most learned Bishops and other eminent divines; but this tract puts forward new and startling views as to the extent to which that liberty may be carried. For if we are right in our apprehension of the author's meaning, we are at a loss to see what security would remain, were his principles generally recognized, that the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome might not be inculcated in the lecture-rooms of the University and from the pulpits of our churches.

In conclusion, we venture to call your attention to the impropriety of

such questions being treated in an anonymous publication, and to express an earnest hope that you may be authorized to make known the writer's name. Considering how very grave and solemn the whole subject is, we cannot help thinking that both the Church and the University are entitled to ask that some person, besides the printer and publisher of the tract, should acknowledge himself responsible for its contents.

We are, Sir,

Your obedient humble servants,

T. T. Churton, M.A., Vice-Principal and Tutor of Brasenose College.

H. B. Wilson, B.D., Fellow and Senior Tutor of St. John's College.

John Griffiths, M.A., Sub-Warden and Tutor of Wadham College.

A. C. Tait, M.A., Fellow and Senior Tutor of Balliol College.

Oxford, March 8, 1841.

This answer reached Wadham College on Tuesday, the 9th, in the middle of the day, just as the printed letter of the Four Tutors was being circulated throughout Oxford. The letter was not a composition to move the University to action: *The Times*, in noticing it, advised the four tutors to fight out the questions raised by Tract 90 in fair controversy, while it playfully expressed a hope that 'they did not instruct their pupils in the sort of English which they appear to write¹.'

Tacitus, as is well known, speaks severely of the busy people who were known in the Rome of his day as *delatores*, and he wishes that they could have been kept more in check than they were by law². They are, it is to be feared, a natural product of the suspicion and panic which haunts all governments that have been tempted to substitute personal prejudice for resolute adherence to a rule of right. The same influence which had prompted the letter of the Four Tutors was already at work in higher quarters, and it is impossible, in spite of his real virtues, to deny to Mr. Golightly the merit which may attach to a pertinacity which resembled fanaticism. He sought and obtained an interview with the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Wynter, and urged upon him the duty of 'bringing Tract 90 in a formal manner before the notice of the Heads of Houses, and eventually of the University at large³.' The Vice-Chancellor, thus urged, submitted the tract to the Hebdomadal Council for discussion on March 10th.

'The Heads,' writes J. B. Mozley to his sister, 'have met, and very furious they were. . . . Some of them could not condescend even to a regular discussion of the question, so entirely had their vague apprehensions overpowered their faculties⁴.'

They separated without arriving at any other conclusion than that they would meet again on March 12th. Meanwhile the report that the Heads were moving had got

¹ *The Times*, March 11, 1841.

² Tac. Ann. iv. 30: 'Delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repletum, et poenis nunquam satis coercitum.'

³ MS. account by Dr. Wynter kindly lent to the author.

⁴ 'Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley,' p. 113.

wind. Palmer, of Worcester, who had held aloof from the Tract-writers since the publication of Froude's 'Remains,' wrote a warm letter to Newman. He 'thanked Newman for the tract, which he thought the most valuable that had appeared, and wished it to be known how much he valued it.' He wrote in the same sense to Dr. Richards, the Rector of Exeter College, in the hope that his opinion might thus reach the Hebdomadal Board. Keble and Pusey, as holding professorships, felt it their duty to take some definite action. Keble, who 'had seen the tract in proof, and strongly recommended its publication,' wrote to the Vice-Chancellor, avowing his responsibility for it. Pusey also wrote to him as follows:—

E. B. P. TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

Christ Church, March 12, 1841.

MY DEAR MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

Writings often appear so different according to the impression with which one first takes them up that I hope I shall not appear presuming upon your kindness if I write to you a few lines on the tract, which I understand has been the subject of discussion at your Board, knowing, as I do intimately, the mind of the writer.

His feelings were these: our Church has condemned nothing Catholic, but only Romish errors; yet there are certain opinions and practices, more or less prevailing in Catholic antiquity, having some relation to the later Romish error, which might seem to be condemned by our Articles, as they are often popularly understood.

This would be a subject of great perplexity to some minds, and tend to alienate them from their Church, if she have indeed condemned what is Catholic. Such persons might—not merely be unable to sign the Articles, but—doubt whether they ought to remain in lay-communion with the Church, if she have so done. (I happen to know one such case, which would, as far as an individual can be, be a great blow and shock, where a person's doubts, whether he will remain in communion with our Church, turn on this very point.) Thus, as he has noticed, there are several opinions of there being some Purgatorial process before or at the Day of Judgment, whereby those who departed out of this life in an imperfect state would be fitted for the Presence of God. Are all these (such an one would ask) condemned by our Church? Again, it is very common to hear any high doctrine as to the Lord's Supper condemned as involving Transubstantiation, or Romanists enlist in support of their worship of saints all apostrophes which one may find to departed saints in the Fathers.

Now, of course, you feel that it is an act of charity and duty to facilitate in any lawful way persons remaining in their Church: on other points we are content (and I think rightly) to allow our formularies to be construed laxly (I can have no doubt contrary to the meaning of their writers). Were, e. g., the strict meaning of the Baptismal Service enforced at once, how many valuable persons would forsake the Church! In the imperfect state in which we are they are patiently borne with. Why should we not deal equally patiently with another class equally valuable? Why, if a person does not hold the 'Romish doctrine of Purgatory' to be Catholic, should he look upon himself as condemned by our Articles, if he hold the Greek view, or if he suppose that, at the Day of Judgment, those who are saved should pass through fire, in which those stained with much sin should suffer? Or (which is more likely) why should he be obliged to look on the Fathers who so hold as condemned by our Church? The rejection of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is tolerated; why may not the belief of some Purgatorial process?

Forgive my troubling you at this length, but I wished to show how the tract had a practical bearing in relieving persons whose misgivings as to remaining in our Church, or even their scruples, every one would be glad to see removed.

Believe me, my dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

With much respect,

Yours very faithfully,

E. B. PUSEY.

It can hardly be necessary to say that neither the writer of the tract nor myself need any such explanations of the Articles for ourselves; it was written to meet the case of others.

The Vice-Chancellor appears to have replied by saying that if any relaxation of subscription to the Articles were permitted it must be permitted in the interests of Socinianism, and in the case of the first five not less than of later Articles.

E. B. P. TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

Christ Church, March 13, [1841].

MY DEAR MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

I thank you very much for your full explanation and your kind expressions to myself, although you will anticipate that the whole note was very painful to me.

You will not think that I wish to draw you into a prolonged theological correspondence, for which you have no leisure, if I say why I think the principle of interpretation advocated in the tract cannot lead to a relaxation of subscription in matters of faith, such as the five first Articles, which you seem to contemplate. The author says, partly

on the authority of Bishop Burnet, that these Articles were purposely drawn up in a comprehensive sense, which has been often repeated as to those which bear upon the Calvinistic doctrines and those on the Sacraments.

To take then these in a larger sense would only be what their authors intended, and would furnish no precedent for taking laxly what they meant strictly. The Four Tutors have fallen into a grievous mistake in representing the tract to maintain that the Articles were directed against a popular system only in the Church of Rome, not against its authoritative teaching or a definite system, whereas the tract, p. 24, speaks of its 'received doctrine and the doctrine of the Schools.'

He conceives accordingly the Articles to be directed against a received, definite, authoritative scheme of doctrine in the Church of Rome, though he does not think that doctrine fixed by the Council of Trent, as neither were our Articles directed against that Council, being anterior to it.

The writer of that tract has written a postscript to explain this as well as his object in writing the tract, and I hope that your Board will not come to any decision without allowing themselves time to see this explanation, which will be printed very shortly.

Excuse this trouble, and believe me, with much respect,

Yours very faithfully,

E. B. PUSEY.

The Heads of Houses had met again on March 12th. Of the twenty-six official members of the Board, twenty-one were present. It was decided by a majority of nineteen to two to censure the tract: the dissentients being the Rev. Dr. Richards, the respected Rector of Exeter College, and one of the Proctors, the Rev. E. A. Dayman, Fellow of Exeter College. Dr. Routh, the learned and venerable President of Magdalen, was, as usual, an absentee; but he 'protested very strongly in writing against the resolution of the Heads of Houses¹.' A Committee was appointed to decide on the terms of the censure, and on the evening of the day Newman was informed of what was in prospect.

On the next day Pusey writes to Keble:—

Christ Church, March 13, 1841.

. . . The Heads of Houses have appointed a Committee, and it is said mean to issue a programme condemning Tract 90. I have had a kind, but very painful and decisive letter from the V. C., mis-

¹ 'Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley,' p. 116.

taking however the principles of the tract. N[ewman] says, 'I assure you it was a very great relief to my mind when I found what they meant to do. I am quite satisfied.'

But, which is worse, G[olightly] has been sending the tract to the Bishops, obtaining their opinions upon an *ex parte* statement: he is said to have received four this morning.

I fear the storm will lie heavy upon us. We must reef our sail, and go softly and humbly.

Pusey never forgot that during the excitement of a controversy certain Christian graces are apt to be lost sight of.

E. B. P. TO REV. W. J. COPELAND.

MY DEAR COPELAND, [Christ Church], March 13, [1841].

I also want to talk to you about things. When would it be convenient to you? Could you walk at 3 any day after Monday?

Must we not keep strict watch over our words in this Lenten season, and see that we say not anything which seems like laughing at what the Heads of Houses are doing, or which indicates a feeling of superiority to them? We know not how these things will turn out; there seems much ground for anxiety; and so the more jealously we keep ourselves humble, the fitter it seems.

On the same morning, after obtaining Newman's permission, Pusey called on the Provost of Oriel to ask him to 'request of the Board a delay of their judgment,' until Newman should have published his explanations, which would be not later than the 16th. Newman wrote to the Provost to the same effect on Sunday, the 14th. On Monday, the 15th, the Board met; and the Provost made a motion to the effect suggested. He found himself in a minority of only three or four. The majority of the Heads were too angry or too panic-stricken to obey that elementary rule of justice which prescribes that the worst criminals shall be heard in self-defence before their condemnation.

On the same day Pusey went over to his brother's home to christen his niece. His appearance is described by his mother a day or two afterwards:—

'Without understanding the merits of the case, I am *very* sorry for this Oxford business, as it makes Edward uncomfortable: he has written to Philip upon the subject: he has quite recovered his

cold, and is, I believe, well, but looks otherwise. . . . I never saw him look more wretched: with his emaciated face, he looked older than the clergyman of Holton, who is near my age and with a lined face, only that Edward is not bald.'

The censure was published in Oxford on the morning of March 16th. The Preamble refers to the University Statutes which obliged all students to subscribe, as well as be instructed and examined in the Thirty-nine Articles. It then glanced at Tract 90 as belonging to 'a series of anonymous publications, purporting to be written by members of the University, but which are in no way sanctioned by the University itself.' It then proceeded to declare

'That modes of interpretation, such as are suggested in the said tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned statutes.'

This censure breathes the 'smouldering stern energetic animosity' against the author of Tract 90 to which he has since referred¹. Or, as Pusey expressed himself, it was 'the vent of a long-pent-up wish to be free of us².' The disclaimer of University sanction for the Tracts was gratuitous, as nobody had ever claimed that sanction. The Tracts were printed and published in London, and none of the contributors, except Pusey (and Newman in one early tract), had ever affixed his initials. If the Heads—so Pusey thought—ever read Newman's explanation they would have seen the injustice of the charge of 'evading rather than explaining the sense of the Articles.' As it was they were condemning, and they knew that they were condemning, not merely Newman but Keble, who 'had eagerly avowed to them that he had given his hearty sanction to Tract 90, and had expressed his wish that it should be published.' Rumour said that the hot haste in which the tract was censured was due to a wish on the

¹ 'Apologia,' p. 172.

² Historical Preface to Tract 90, p. xviii.

part of the Heads to condemn the tract without condemning its author by name. If this was their motive, they little knew the men with whom they were dealing.

‘Personally,’ says Pusey, ‘it would not have been an added pang to any of us to be himself condemned. Each would have preferred that it should be himself. All which any of us heeded was the condemnation of any of the principles or truths which we held or taught by any persons invested with any authority.’

However much the Heads may have desired to censure an anonymous tract they were not permitted for many hours to have the satisfaction of feeling that they were doing so. On the morning of the day of the publication of the censure Newman wrote to the Vice-Chancellor, and at two o’clock his letter was in type.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

I write this respectfully to inform you that I am the author, and have the sole responsibility of the tract on which the Hebdomadal Board has just now expressed an opinion, and that I have not given my name hitherto, under the belief that it was desired that I should not. I hope it will not surprise you if I say that my opinions remain unchanged of the truth and honesty of the principle maintained in the tract, and of the necessity of putting it forth. At the same time, I am prompted by my feelings to add my deep consciousness that everything I attempt might be done in a better spirit, and in a better way; and, while I am sincerely sorry for the trouble and anxiety I have given to the members of the Board, I beg to return my thanks to them for an act which, even though founded on misapprehension, may be made as profitable to myself as it is religiously and charitably intended.

I say all this with great sincerity, and am, Mr. Vice-Chancellor,
Your obedient servant,

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

Oriel College, March 16th, [1841].

On the evening of the same day, within twelve hours of the appearance of the censure, Newman’s promised ‘explanation’ of the difficulties raised by ‘the Four Tutors’ was published in the form of a letter addressed to the Rev. Dr. Jelf. In this letter he shows, first of all, that the four tutors had mistaken his meaning in respect of Articles

XXII. and XXXI. The tract maintained that these Articles 'condemn the authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome' on the points in question, but not the decrees of the Council of Trent, since these decrees were not published when the Articles were drawn up, and differ in various respects from other authoritative teaching, both earlier and later, of the Roman Church. Next the writer insists that the tract was written 'for the times,' and for persons who were at that moment exposed to the temptation of joining the Church of Rome, partly on account of the Ultra-Protestant interpretation which had been imposed on, rather than elicited from, the text of the Articles. Finally he expresses his surprise that

'persons who have in years past and present borne patiently disclaimers of the Athanasian Creed or of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, or of belief in many of the Scripture miracles, should now be alarmed so much when a private member of the University, without his name, makes statements in an opposite direction!'

Pusey held that Newman's explanation of Tract 90 would have made the Hebdomadal censure impossible in the form in which it was conceived. But it came too late. The Hebdomadal Council was 'substantially a court' of justice in this matter. Yet its members deliberately refused to hear the defence of the accused. In the words of Mr. Justice Coleridge:—

'The Council knew and were indeed directly informed that three individuals, among the most eminent in the University, and most blameless in character, were substantially the persons to be affected by their decree; nor could the Council be ignorant how heavy was the blow which it was proposed to strike by its sentence. The barest justice therefore required, that if any one of them desired to be heard in explanation or mitigation of the charge, reasonable time should have been afforded for the purpose; the more plain the case, the stronger seemingly the evidence, the more imperative in a judicial proceeding was this duty. One can hardly believe that five days only elapsed from the commencement of the proceeding to the publication of the sentence; and twelve hours of delay were respectfully solicited for the defence and refused; on the sixth day the defence appeared. It is obviously quite immaterial to consider whether that defence

¹ 'Letter to Rev. R. W. Jelf,' by Rev. J. H. Newman,' pp. 6, 9, 29.

would have availed, or ought to have availed; a judgment so pronounced could have no moral weight. The members of the Board must have been familiar with and should have remembered the weighty lines of the Roman tragedian:—

“Qui statuit aliquid parte inauditâ alterâ,
Æquum licet statuerit, haud æquus fuit.”

‘But from judges they had unfortunately made themselves parties; and it was impossible after this that in the course of the subsequent proceedings in the progress of the controversy, they could be looked up to as just or impartial¹’

In writing Tract 90 Newman was thinking only or chiefly of some younger men who saw in the Articles, as popularly interpreted, a reason for joining the Church of Rome. But in his eagerness to meet a particular set of difficulties, he lost sight of the effect of his language, while unexplained and unadjusted, upon the world at large. Such an explanation was furnished by the Letter to Dr. Jelf, but the effect of the tract might have been in some respects different if the substance of that letter had been incorporated with it.

Those who knew what was going on in the minds for which Newman wrote could do, and did do, him justice. Newman mentions Dr. Hook, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Perceval as ‘gallantly taking his part²,’ although they, of course, knew less than Pusey and Keble. On the appearance of the Hebdomadal censure Pusey sent it to Keble with a proposal of his own for a declaration.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

[Christ Church], March 17, 1841.

You will be much pained by the enclosed. Newman is very calm: he has written an admirable clear explanation, but the Heads of Houses seem to have cut themselves off from understanding it. One cannot foresee what the consequences may not be. I was for getting signatures to a declaration at once, much perhaps as this:—‘We the undersigned Resident Members of Convocation, Professors, and Fellows of Colleges in Oxford hold that the Thirty-nine Articles are in conformity with the teaching of the Church Catholic, and that some of them are opposed to the authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome; we desire only that they be so explained, not according to

¹ ‘Memoir of the Rev. John Keble,’ by the Right Hon. Sir J. T. Coleridge, D.C.L. Parker, 1869, pp. 268, 269.

² ‘Apologia,’ p. 173.

the private interpretation of modern individuals; and we are convinced that Tract 90 of the "Tracts for the Times," rightly understood, advocates no other view, and does not tend to reconcile subscription to them with the adoption of any errors of the Church of Rome.'

I have just written this and have no copy. If you approve of it, will you amend it and return it to me: I think something of the kind desirable for the sake of people away from the University, who may be perplexed. [I.] Williams was for waiting, although he thinks that we must come sooner or later to something of this sort, and that people in the country should be attended to. In London nothing else is spoken of; people who read no other Tracts, read this, under the guidance of Radical papers. I did not ask N[ewman] about it, as it is a defence of his tract: his general opinion was 'our strength is to sit still.'

Keble did not take so serious a view of what was passing in Oxford as did his friends in residence.

REV. J. KEBLE TO E. B. P.

[Hursley, March 18, 1841.]

I am afraid I am grown callous to things, or do not realize the mischiefs which are out of my sight—certainly I feel on the whole relieved by the turn the Heads have given to their document. Their not addressing it to the Tutors is one good thing—their not including all the Tracts, another—their not specifying doctrines, a third. I only hope they and the Bishops will not lay their heads together and contrive something more stringent. But it will not be your fault, nor N[ewman's], if they do.

Now as to a counter declaration: there is a great *prima facie* objection, that it seems to be setting one's-self against the Heads. I think, if it is adopted, something to the following effect may be added to your draught: 'And we respectfully, but very earnestly, deprecate any authoritative enforcement of any other interpretation of them; as contrary to the recorded opinions of our standard divines, and tending unduly to narrow the terms of Catholic communion, and to cause divisions and offences.'

I add this query, as it seems to state the reason both of the tract itself and of our protest, which latter may otherwise appear to some an act of uncalled-for opposition.

I should like to know a little more exactly what you and Williams mean by the perplexity of people in the country. Is it that they want to be satisfied about the tract? or to be made aware that it is not Oxford which repudiates it, but only the Heads of Houses? Yours perhaps may answer both purposes. . . .

I think this stir must do good, if only from bringing out such an instance of good feeling as Newman's second paragraph in his Letter to Jelf.

On the same day Keble wrote to Newman in acknowledgment of a copy of his Letter to Dr. Jelf:—

[H. V., March 18, 1841.]

I am sure this must do good, and I trust the whole affair will be overruled to do so. As for the Heads, their place must be respected. Moberly is very much obliged to you for what you have said of the Church in particular. It has quieted a scruple of his. I send you also a note of Wilson's.

Ever yours most affectionately

J. K.

I do not see how the Heads could do anything more innocuous, if they did anything at all. I am rather glad they have issued no direct orders to the Tutors or young men.

Keble, in a second letter to Pusey, written on the same day, dissuades him from the declaration. Moberly thought it unadvisable. The Heads were not the University: *The Times* had explained that fact to all the world. A declaration would oblige people to take a side, who were not ill-disposed towards the Tract-writers, but who needed time for consideration. 'Our strength,' he added, 'surely *is* to sit still, *if* we are but left alone.' Upon this Pusey gave up the projected declaration. He had only wished to join himself with Newman, adding:—

'But he can bear the heat of the day alone. He to Whom he commits himself will bring his innocence to light sooner or later. So he needs not the aid of such as I. . . . When the storm is over, people who can appreciate him will respect him the more.'

While thus identifying themselves with Newman and heartily accepting the general position taken up in the tract, both Keble and Pusey used the liberty of friendship to criticize it. In this Keble, as was natural, went further than Pusey. On the appearance of the tract, and before the Heads of Houses had censured it, Keble sent a series of corrections which might 'be of use in a reprint should such be called for, and thought right.' The Tracts had stated that Article XXXI. does not speak against the Mass as being an offering for the quick and the dead for the remission of sin. Keble suggests that the 'offering' should be described as 'commemorative.' Again, the tract speaks

of 'justification by inherent righteousness.' Keble would prefer 'a righteousness within us.' Once more, the tract had asserted with reference to Article XXII. that 'the Homily, and therefore the Article, does not speak of the Tridentine Purgatory.'

Upon this Keble writes to Newman (March 14):—

'This is the first thing which has occurred to me as questionable on this revision. Did not the Trent fathers mean the Schoolmen's Purgatory? And was not that different from what the Homily thought of?'

And in a later letter:—

'Did I mention to you that I can hardly tell on revision of the tract what to make of the statement, p. 26, that the Article does not speak of the Tridentine Purgatory? Must not Trent, speaking indefinitely, be understood to mean the doctrine of the Roman Schools, which the Article does condemn?'

Pusey, too, writing before the Heads had decided to censure the tract, admits his regret at one or two of its expressions. He cites the description of the Articles as 'the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies.' Such a phrase would surely be taken hold of. But its true explanation was quite consistent with the loyalty of the writer who had employed it, as Pusey explained to Harrison:—

'March 14, 1841.

'Surely it plainly refers to the passage in Isaiah, and as in that it is implied that the teaching was given in words less distinct because the people were unfit to receive it, so there is something providential and suited to our state in the diminished distinctness or the indistinctness with which certain doctrines (as the Eucharistic Sacrifice) are retained in our formularies (as in Williams' tract on the Liturgies). If persons so ill bear our Baptismal Service, how much less would they bear any distinct enunciation of high doctrine as to the Holy Eucharist?'

Pusey, however, told Newman that the phrase, as unexplained, gave offence to such excellent people as Joshua Watson. He also represented to Newman that the tract might be understood to imply that the Articles had no definite meaning, but might mean anything. Nor was he entirely satisfied with the language of the tract on the subject of the invocation of saints.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

Sunday night, March 14, 1841.

It is very kind of you to take so much trouble about me. My view is this, that as infants are regenerated in Baptism, not on the faith of their parents, but of the Catholic Church, so the Articles are received, not in the sense of their writers, but in the Catholic sense, as far as the wording will admit. I am far from leaving them without *legitimate* interpretation.

As to invocation, at first sight it means *any* calling, but this it cannot mean in the Article, because of the Psalms. *Some* modification is necessary. The definition the Homilies seem to give is, any act which *entrenches on the worship due to God alone*. Whether *ora pro nobis* be such is, I would say, an open question—not indifferent (as you somewhere put it) to the individual, but undetermined by the Article.

As to 'stammering lips,' I am very sorry that it has given offence, and will withdraw it in a second edition.

Thanks about Keble. Church and Copeland have found the passage. I suppose I shall trouble you with the proof of my pamphlet to-morrow night or Tuesday morning.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. H. N.

P.S.—I think you said I might address Jelf.

The result is thus afterwards described by Pusey:—

'In its first edition, Newman drew no line as to what Article XXII. rejected, and what it admitted of. He ever shrank from being a leader; and especially he wished not to encourage young men, upon his own well-deserved authority, to go to the verge of what the Church of England did not condemn, although she did not sanction it. In the second edition, however, before any adverse opinion had been expressed, although not before prejudices had arisen, Newman, at the instance of others (partly perhaps my own), supplied this, marking his alterations by brackets¹.

These and other criticisms led to some changes in the text of the second edition of the tract, which are indicated by brackets throughout. The reference to 'stammering lips' is omitted, and any language which might have been understood in a sense disrespectful to the Church of England is modified or abandoned. In the commentary on Article XXII. several new paragraphs are introduced which summarize and define the sense of the general discussion in such terms as to make misunderstanding, as was that of

¹ Historical Preface to Tract 90, by E. B. Pusey, D.D., p. ix.

'the Four Tutors,' impossible; and at the conclusion of the section on Article XXXI. Keble's suggestion is embodied. Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf further explained all that had to be explained about the point of view of the writer; but both it and the alterations in the second edition left the governing principle of the tract untouched. That principle was that the Articles were not to be interpreted in the light of the Protestant or Puritan tradition, which had so long imposed a false sense upon them; but, in the first instance, by the clear meaning of their own language, or, where this was doubtful, by the general sense of the Church, Primitive and Catholic, of which the Church of England claims to be a part, and to which she appeals.

The Hebdomadal Board, at the instigation of astute advisers, had issued their precipitate condemnation of the tract; and had condemned its writer unheard. They were too wise to submit their verdict for the acceptance of the University through its Convocation. But there was a far more important question behind—What would the Bishops and the Church at large feel with regard to the matter? And to Newman in particular it was of vital interest to know the mind of the Bishop of his own diocese.

The Bishop of Oxford, as was indeed inevitable, was not an unconcerned spectator of what was passing in his Cathedral city. He was urged to take decisive steps against the Tract-writers. The generosity and nobleness of his own character, as well as his sympathies with the general drift of the Oxford School, would have led him to turn a deaf ear to this kind of advice. But he had personal misgivings of his own to reckon with; and he probably did not know enough to do justice to the exact point of view of Newman and Pusey. So on March 17th he wrote the sub-joined letter to Pusey, enclosing another for Newman.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR SIR,

Cuddesdon, March 17, 1841.

In asking you to deliver the enclosed to Mr. Newman, I take the opportunity of sending you a few lines confidentially

on a subject which must have caused you as well as myself deep anxiety.

My letter to Mr. Newman is not the consequence of the judgment passed on the tract in Oxford. I had previously decided to take this step; and I have done it in this form, because I feel great confidence in his readiness to comply with my wishes, and to save me from any unpleasant duty, which might devolve upon me, of a more authoritative expression of my opinion. I feel safe in declaring to you more fully the fears which I entertain as to the possible consequences of the recent publication; and you will understand me when I say that I look with anxiety to its effects, not only within the limits of my diocese, but throughout the Church of which I am a Bishop, and in the purity and tranquillity of which I am deeply interested. It appears to me absolutely necessary that steps should be promptly taken for removing all grounds for the alarm and offence which I have reason to believe are extensively felt in the Church. I am convinced that this can be done both more effectually, and in a manner more agreeable to our feelings, by the author of the tract, than by myself or any of my brethren on the Bench. I would not of course wish Mr. Newman or any one to put forth any opinion which he does not heartily believe; but I am convinced there are opinions spoken of in the tract as not Catholic¹, yet not incompatible with subscription to the Articles, which Mr. Newman does not himself hold, and which he would not desire to see taught by the clergy. If so, these he might disavow, and it might also be in his power to declare certain of the most obnoxious opinions to be opposed to the *spirit* of the Articles, if not to the *letter*: for it is their non-opposition to the *letter* only that the tract asserts. If he could also adopt respectful language (and the more cordial the better) in speaking of the formularies of the Church, he would do much to relieve the minds of many (myself among others) who, with a sincere reverence and desire for Catholic truth, have an unfeigned attachment to the principles of the Church of England.

I need scarcely remind you that there are many others, holding in some points different opinions, whose strong feelings on the subject of Romish error have a claim to be treated with consideration. I believe I shall not be referring to one whom you consider hostile to your principles if I point to the conclusion of an admirable sermon by Bishop Ken, preached at Whitehall on Palm Sunday.

Although my present letter to you is confidential, I should be most willing (in the event of Mr. Newman acting on my suggestions) that he should avow that he did so in consequence of a communication from me.

I am convinced that the principles he has so often advocated will not fail him when called to act upon them, and that he will readily cooperate with me for the preservation of unity in the Church. I have

¹ i.e. not universally received in the Ancient Church.

also much at heart the securing to the Church of England the cordial services of men whom I believe to be sincerely attached to her, and who have by many of their writings already done her essential service.

I lose no time in offering these remarks, feeling how much may under Providence turn on the measures adopted by the Bishop of this diocese and by yourselves.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

R. OXFORD.

The enclosed letter to the author of Tract 99 ran as follows¹ :—

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

MY DEAR SIR,

Cuddesdon, March 17, 1841.

I write with much anxiety of mind and with painful feeling, but when I recollect the kind manner in which you have invariably received anything I have ever said,—and calling to mind your letter after the delivery of my late Charge, when, under a mistaken supposition that a general censure had been contained in that Charge against the authors of the 'Tracts for the Times,' you offered to withdraw any tracts over which you had control, if such should be my wish,—I have the less hesitation in now writing, knowing at all events that what I say will be received in a spirit of kindness, even if you feel yourself unable to comply with my wishes.

In accordance with what I have before said, I shall equally on the present occasion abstain from going into discussion upon various points contained in the tract which has caused so much sensation; but I do feel it my duty to express my regret at its publication, and to state to you plainly, though generally, my honest conviction of its containing [entailing] much, which I am sure is directly the reverse of what the writer would wish or expect from it, but what would in my opinion tend both to disunite and endanger the Church.

That the *object* of the tract is to make our *Church* more Catholic (in its true sense) and more united I am satisfied, and, as I have already said, I will not dispute upon what interpretations may or may not be put upon various Articles, but I cannot think it free from danger, and I feel that it would tend to increased disunion at this time.

Under these convictions I cannot refrain from expressing my anxious wish that, for the peace of the Church, discussions upon the Articles should not be continued in the publication of the 'Tracts for the Times.' You will not, I am sure, mistake the spirit and feeling with

¹ This letter is taken from a rough draft of that actually sent.

which this wish is expressed, but will consider it as the wish of one who has a sincere personal regard towards yourself.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

R. OXFORD.

Pusey's lengthy reply to Bishop Bagot traverses ground which has been gone over in previous letters; and shows what an important part he played in these negotiations. One passage alone need be quoted in full.

' Christ Church, March 18, 1841.

' But indeed your Lordship will not think that I mean to controvert any of your Lordship's opinions, if I mention that many persons, who would be accounted moderate persons, and who are not any way connected with those in Oxford [I may mention in confidence to your Lordship, Dr. Moberly, Head Master of Winchester], have understood the tract in a very different way from that in which the Heads of Houses and the Four Tutors have taken it, or in which I am pained to find that your Lordship has understood it. The unhappiness, I think, has been, that Mr. Newman, having written expressly on the subject of Romanism in his book, and also in the *British Critic*, took it for granted that his readers would understand this tract in combination with them. He has so often spoken against Romanism, and the specific Romish errors, which he has been thought to countenance in this tract, that he did not think it necessary to speak against them again. And so he came to be looked upon as extenuating them. Again, his argument is throughout directed against popular misinterpretation of the Articles, which gives the Articles a meaning which they have not in themselves. Thus people explain "General Councils" not in the popular sense in which the term was used, but as though our Article meant to say that Councils strictly Œcumenical could err. Or in the case of the "Invocation of Saints," they would include in them such apostrophes to departed friends, as one finds in the Fathers, asking their prayers, which give a handle to Romish controversialists. Mr. Newman began accordingly with saying that "*all* addresses to unseen beings" were not included in the "Invocation of Saints" which our Church condemns (for in the Benedicite we address the Three Children, and the "spirits and souls of the righteous"); and then goes on to contrast them with those which our Church does condemn. Those who have not seen against what he aimed have thought that he meant to parallel these addresses instead of contrasting them. But the chief source of the charge against the tract has been that he did not bring out enough what he did state in one sentence, p. 24, that what he understood to be "opposed" by the Articles was, "the *received* doctrine of the day, and unhappily of this day too, or *the doctrine* of the Roman

Schools." Hence the Four Tutors (and I suspect the way in which they understood Mr. Newman influenced many others) supposed that he meant to represent the Articles, or rather Article XXII. as opposed only to a popular doctrine, not to the *authoritative* teaching of the Church of Rome, and so that persons, who did not hold with those popular views, but did hold with the authoritative teaching of Rome, as held by enlightened Romanists, might sign the Articles. This view was unhappily facilitated by the copious extracts from the Homilies, while the one sentence, which declared the contrary, escaped notice. . . . Mr. N. knows nothing of the substance of this letter. It would be a relief to him, I am sure, at a personal sacrifice, to do anything which your Lordship would desire in this matter.'

Newman was much less discursive :—

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Oriel College, March 18, 1841.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am very much pained at your Lordship's letter, from the expression of opinion which it contains, but not at all at what it desires of me.

There shall be no more discussions upon the Articles in the 'Tracts for the Times,' according to your Lordship's wish; nor indeed was it at all my intention that there should be. I need not enter upon the circumstances with your Lordship which led to my writing the tract which has led to your letter. I will only say that it was not done wantonly, and the kind tone of your letter makes me sure that your Lordship does not think so, however you may disapprove of the tract itself.

I am, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

The Bishop was pleased and indeed relieved by these letters. He wrote a few lines of thanks to Newman, and a longer letter to Pusey. He was grateful for the kind spirit and ready acquiescence in which his suggestions had been received. He hints that he may have something further to say, but in a perfectly friendly spirit. The Letter to Dr. Jelf would, he thought, do much to remove alarm and misapprehension. Something further might be necessary; but what it should be he could not, as yet, say. Perhaps Mr. Newman might address a letter to himself. He might be willing to make admissions and explanations to his Bishop,

which he would not care to make to opponents within the University. He added :—

‘ And here, my dear Sir, I must state that you do not quite rightly understand my letter, when you identify it (as you do in a part of your letter) with the published opinions and judgment of the Tutors and Heads of Houses. The University and the Bishop stand very differently.

‘ Now, the paper of the Tutors points at heresy—the judgment of the Board of Heads of Houses at *evasion* which would tend to defeat the Articles ; if you refer to my letter you will not find that I do so. My responsibility as a Bishop involves control over those who are to *give* instruction, not merely (as in the case of the University) over those who are to receive it. . . .

‘ Believe me, my dear Sir, faithfully yours,

‘ R. OXFORD.’

On March 19 Pusey wrote again to Bishop Bagot, calling his attention to the important postscript which Newman had subjoined to the second edition of his ‘ Letter to Dr. Jelf.’ He also sent to Newman the Bishop’s second letter to himself. Newman was grateful, but added, ‘ I earnestly trust he will not ask me to commit myself on points on which I cannot ’ ; and enclosed the following letter for the Bishop :—

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Oriel College, March 20, 1841.

The kindness of your Lordship’s letter of this morning brought tears into my eyes. My single wish, as far as I dare speak of myself, or speak of my having a wish, is to benefit the Church and to approve myself to your Lordship ; and if I am not deceiving myself in so thinking, surely I shall in the end be blessed and prospered, however at times I may meet with reverses. I think of the text, ‘ Keep innocence, and take heed to the thing that is right, for that shall bring a man peace at the last.’

I assure your Lordship I was altogether unsuspecting that my tract would make any disturbance. No one can enter into my situation but myself. I see a great many minds working in various directions, and a variety of principles with multiplied bearings, and I act for the best. I sincerely think that matters would not have gone better for the Church had I never written. And if I write, I have a choice of difficulties. It is easy for those who do not enter into these difficulties to say, ‘ He ought to say this and not say that ’ ; but things are so wonderfully linked together, and I cannot, or rather I would not, be dishonest. When persons interrogate me, I am obliged in many cases to give

an opinion, or I seem underhand. Keeping silence looks like artifice. And I do not like persons to consult or to respect me, from thinking differently of my opinions from what I know them to be. And again, to use the proverb, what is one man's food is another man's poison. All these things make my situation very difficult. Hitherto I have been successful in keeping people together; but that a collision must at some time ensue between members of the Church of opposite opinions I have long been aware. The time and mode have been in the hand of Providence: I do not mean to exclude my own great imperfections in bringing it about, yet I still feel obliged to think the tract necessary.

Dr. Pusey has shown me your Lordship's letters to him. I am most desirous of saying in print anything which I can honestly say to remove false impressions created by the tract.

Bishop Bagot was in great and natural anxiety, and as on previous occasions fell back on the learning and authority of the Primate. To a letter describing his earlier proceedings with regard to Tract 90, the Archbishop replied in terms which are too general to be of much lasting value. It must be remembered that the Archbishop had not read for himself Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf, and he was anxious that nothing more should be done in Oxford which would prolong the controversy:—

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Lambeth, March 19, 1841.

I think nothing could have been more kind, wise, and judicious than the course you have taken in regard to the unfortunate tract. In your letter you express your disapprobation of the exceptionable part, and at the same time temper your expressions with so much kindness, that the only pain which it can give the writer of the tract must arise from the reflection that there must be something wrong in the publication when it is deemed objectionable by one whose disposition is so friendly towards him. This proceeding on your part will, I trust, have the effect of preventing any rash step on the part of Mr. Newman or his friends. I hope also that nothing more will be done by their opponents to prolong a controversy injurious to the Church, or to excite feelings which might have the effect of perpetuating divisions. To secure this point I think we should use our best endeavours.

Mr. Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf is in this day's *Morning Post*: I have not yet found time to look at it. I understand it is not considered as satisfactory by moderate persons. It is to be hoped that his friends will not pledge themselves to the support of his opinions,

merely because they are his, without regard to their correctness. The disposition of generous minds not to abandon a friend when he is involved in difficulties has led at various times to the establishment of permanent schisms in the Church.

Believe me, my dear Lord, truly yours,

WILLIAM CANTUAR.

Upon Bishop Bagot's forwarding to the Archbishop the later letters which he had received from Pusey and Newman, the Archbishop wrote again and in more peremptory terms :—

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

[Lambeth], Monday, March 22, 1841.

MY DEAR LORD,

Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman have received your communication as from my knowledge of their disposition and principles I expected they would. This is so far satisfactory, and holds out a prospect of a peaceable termination of a controversy which, if continued, would very possibly be productive of incalculable injury to the Church. The passages to which your Lordship refers are very objectionable, and I doubt whether they would admit of an explanation satisfactory in all respects. I am therefore of opinion that it would be advisable to let things rest, at least for the present, rather than to come forward with explanations inconsistent with the apparent sense of the propositions which have given offence, or expressing the same sense, with little variation, in different words.

It would, I think, be unadvisable that your Lordship's name should be connected in any way with the discussion on this matter.

I have this instant seen Mr. Newman's Postscript to his second edition, and as he can go no further in explanation he should, in my opinion, explain no more; but it seems most desirable that the publication of the Tracts should be discontinued for ever.

Believe me, my dear Lord, very truly yours,

W. CANTUAR.

Bishop Bagot was exposed to all the abuse to which a Bishop in his position, who hesitated to obey popular clamour, would be liable. He was supposed, inaccurately as we know, to sympathize unreservedly with the Oxford writers. He shrank from the course which would have been followed by a man of less generous temper; but he thought that if Newman would write a letter to himself, containing 'a general avowal of cordial attachment to the Church of England, and disapprobation of Romish

doctrines (clearly as they might perhaps be deduced from various parts of his other writings) he would himself be exculpated from a charge of indifference and negligence of duty.' The Bishop was constantly receiving very violent anonymous letters from members of the extreme Puritanical party. Pusey, he thought, might reflect that moderate men who were 'thankful for the great, though gradual, good already done to sound High Church principles had been alarmed by the publication of Tract 90.' Could not he and his friends 'rest quietly contented with the good they had already effected?' They 'would receive the thanks of nine-tenths of the sober-thinking clergy, and much of their writings would be a rallying-point for future generations.' They had to be on their guard against the suggestions of *esprit de corps*, and they should remember St. Paul's tenderness for the consciences of the weaker brethren.

Newman, it was urged, was in a difficult position, and he had to think of others than himself. But so also, the Bishop considered, was he. The Bishop further thought that while Newman's position was one of his own creation, his own was not. Newman could withdraw from difficulties which were not entailed on him by his office in the Church: the Bishop could not, without unfaithfulness, shrink from those which it was his duty to meet¹. Yet it might have been remembered that no man is obliged to be a Bishop; and that the responsibilities which gather round the humblest of the clergy are not always of their own choosing.

After his last letter to the Bishop, Newman had been hoping that the storm had blown over.

THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO THE HON. AND REV. A. P.
PERCEVAL.

Oriel, March 22, 1841.

. . . Your name has been and will be very valuable to me. I trust the storm will blow over now. All parties seem disposed in this place to do nothing. Of course there will be a commotion in the country, and we must expect two or three Bishops to express themselves, but on the whole, I do trust, quiet is the order of the day. If so, I shall have said a great deal at very little cost.

¹ From MS. drafts of letters.

But after hearing from Lambeth, Bishop Bagot wrote to Pusey, asking him to come over to Cuddesdon 'for a little private conversation on this painful position of things.' His motive in not asking Newman was 'one of delicacy,' and Pusey had been from the first the channel of communication between them. The letter was written on the 23rd, and Pusey went to Cuddesdon on the following morning, the 24th, returned to Oxford in the afternoon, and saw Newman. That which had passed at both of these memorable interviews may best be gathered from subsequent correspondence. The Bishop had urged that the tract should be suppressed; that the whole series should cease after the publication of two more tracts which were already prepared. Of these one was on the Apocrypha; the other a continuation of Keble's tract on 'The Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church.' He further desired that when these tracts had appeared, Tract 90 should not be republished; and that Newman should tell the world that this had been done in deference to the Bishop's request.

Pusey, without exactly urging this, had put it before Newman as a possible course; and had insisted on those difficulties of the Bishop's position which were created by the opinions of 'authorities in London.'

THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel, In Vigil. Annunc., 1841.

After writing the passage in my projected letter about the Bishop's wish that my tract should be suppressed, and my submission to it, I have on second thoughts come to the conclusion that I cannot do this without surrendering *interests* with which I am providentially charged at this moment, and which I have no right to surrender.

However the passage is worded, it will be looked on by the world as the Bishop's concurrence in the act of the Hebdomadal Board, which declares such a mode of interpreting the Articles as I adopt to be evasive and inadmissible. At this moment I am representing not a few, but a vast number all through the country, who more or less agree with me.

I offered the Bishop to withdraw the tract, but I did not offer to concur, by any act of mine, in his *virtual censure* of it, which is involved in its being suppressed at his bidding.

And I am pained to see that authorities in London have increased their demands according to my submissiveness. When they thought me obstinate, they spoke only of not writing more in the Tracts about the Articles. When they find me obedient, they add the stopping of the Tracts and the suppression of No. 90.

And they use me against myself. They cannot deliver Charges of a sudden, but they use me to convey to the world a prompt and popular condemnation of my own principles.

What, too, is to be our warrant that, in addition to this, the Bishops of Chester, Chichester, Winchester, &c. will not charge against the tract, though suppressed? And what is to stop pamphlets against it? Will Price of Rugby be stopped? And one of the Four? And the Strictures? And the *Record* and the *Standard*? All this is painful. They exert power over the dutiful: they yield to others.

I feel this so strongly that I have almost come to the resolution, if the Bishop publicly intimates that I must suppress the tract, or speaks strongly in his Charge against it, to suppress it indeed, but to resign my living also. I could not in conscience act otherwise.

You may show this in any quarter you please.

P.S.—You will observe I *draw back* no offer, but I do something additional, resign my living, to meet something extreme which they do—publish a censure.

P.S.—In fest. Annunc.

I add as follows this morning, merely to clear my meaning. I am sorry you should have so much trouble.

1. The Bishops limited their wishes to my discontinuing any discussions about the Articles in the Tracts.

2. Now they wish me besides to suppress No. 90, which I offered; and to say I suppress it *at their bidding*, which I did not offer.

3. Considering the act of the Hebdomadal Board, it will be taken, however explained by them, as equivalent to a condemnation like that of the Heads.

4. This would compromise principles held by vast numbers in the Church.

5. And it puts me in a most painful situation at St. Mary's, with both the Heads and the Bishops against me.

6. Under these circumstances I cannot co-operate with such an act. And if the Bishop were to publish in any way his wish that I should suppress the tract, I should do it, but I think I should resign my living too.

7. Whether I should resign it if the tract were merely suppressed without the Bishop's wish being published, depends on what I shall see of the effects consequent on suppressing it.

This first letter was followed by a second, more exactly defining the meaning of a single passage in it.

THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

[Oriël] In fest. Annunc. [1841.]

When I said in my letter that if the Bishop condemned the tract in his Charge I should resign my living, of course I did not mean to be so indecent as to require that he should not give his opinion of it in the Charge, but that if it was condemned in the *general*, or as to its *doctrine*, I should feel that I had no business in his diocese. I should not be signing the Articles *in the sense* he meant them to be signed.

Pusey at once wrote to the Bishop, stating what Newman felt with regard to his position, and what he was ready to do, and what he would prefer not to do. The Tracts should be stopped, but nothing need be said about Tract 90. There were great difficulties in the way of stating that it was suppressed at the desire of the Bishop.

E. B. P. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Christ Church, March 25, 1841.

. . . If Mr. Newman were to express generally that Tract 90 was suppressed at your Lordship's desire, this would be construed into a concurrence on the part of your Lordship with the act of the Hebdomadal Board, which declares such a mode of interpreting the Articles evasive and inadmissible. So that Mr. Newman would be virtually concurring in, and conveying to the world, a condemnation of his own principles. The act of the Heads is considered as expressing their sense of the way in which the Articles ought to be signed: if your Lordship seemed to concur in this, then Mr. N. would seem to be signing the Articles not in the sense in which you wished them to be signed, and so would feel that he had no right to hold a cure in your Lordship's diocese. . . .

Should it then appear sufficient to your Lordship that Tract 90 should be silently withdrawn, and your Lordship's recommendation confined to the cessation of the Tracts, it would, I think, obviate many difficulties. The sudden and immediate stoppage of a publication so known as the Tracts is in itself a very decisive measure: Mr. Newman most cheerfully concurs in it. Still, such an act upon authority is something altogether so new that I should think it would alone impress people very strongly as to the discipline both exercised and cheerfully concurred in in our Church.

Pusey followed up this letter by a visit to Cuddesdon the next day. Before starting, Pusey had received no less than three additional notes from Newman.

THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Friday morning [March 26, 1841].

The more I think of it, the more reluctant I am to suppress Tract 90, though *of course* I will do it if the Bishop wishes. I cannot, however, deny that I shall feel it as a severe act.

1. I am convinced that people will alter their opinion very much about the tract. They have already, in a measure. Suppression will *perpetuate their first* impressions. Is this just?

2. We know, even as regards those works of mine which are in circulation, that gross misrepresentations are put forth and believed about them : how much more will this be, when a tract is not forthcoming to speak for itself?

3. This occurred last night. I took up at Parker's some Strictures on the tract, and I saw that they attacked a particular quotation (of no great consequence). When I got home I looked into it, and suspect my objector is right. The state of the case was this : it was the only reference I had not verified. I had lent my copy of the work. I think I then went to our Library, and found the volume out. I then made a note of it, but unluckily neglected it. If the tract is suppressed I cannot correct this.

4. Moreover, it will still be on sale in America, and with its faults uncorrected.

5. The evil will be increased if it is imported thence to this country, which is more than probable. The Tracts *are* reprinted in America.

I cannot deny that I shall feel this suppression very much. My first feeling was to obey without a word : I will obey still ; but my judgment has steadily risen against the measure ever since.

If I have ever done any good to the Church, I would ask the Bishop this favour as a reward for it, that he would not insist upon a measure from which I think good will not come.

THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel, Friday [March 26, 1841].

It is in vain to deny that I shall be hurt and discouraged beyond measure if the tract is suppressed at all. The feeling grows stronger every hour. If the Bishop wishes to *break* an instrument which hitherto has been exerted for the Church, he may do it ; but I am sure he does not wish it. The inclosed is for him, if you think fit. I am sorry to give you so much trouble.

THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Friday [March 26, 1841].

More last words. I do think if Tract 90 is suppressed, I shall suppress all the whole set of them from the first, as the editions are exhausted. And I much doubt whether I shall have heart to write any letter to the Bishop at all.

I have no objection to put into my letter that 'the Bishop had apprehensions, &c., or more about the expedience, seasonableness of the tract,' saying nothing of suppression.

Pusey arrived at Cuddesdon with the three letters in his pocket, and read them to Bishop Bagot. At the close of the interview the Bishop gave way upon the point which Newman had chiefly at heart—the suppression of Tract 90. On returning to Oxford, Pusey saw Newman and the Archdeacon, with whom the Bishop wished them to confer; and before night sent a report to the Bishop.

E. B. P. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Christ Church, March 26, 1841.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have seen the Archdeacon and Mr. Newman, and have endeavoured to communicate to them the substance of my interview with your Lordship to-day. The Archdeacon has arranged to come over so soon as Mr. N.'s MS. is in a state of forwardness.

Your Lordship will be convinced that I found Mr. Newman very anxious to meet your Lordship's views; and I have very good hopes that he will be able to do so. He had no wish that it should appear that the closing of the Tracts was the result of his own judgment, independent of, and anterior to your Lordship's; he only thought that it would be pleasant to your Lordship to mention incidentally that his judgment concurred with or anticipated that which your Lordship gave.

He thinks that by referring to his former correspondence with your Lordship, and his own language in it, and the way in which he had felt and taken your Lordship's communications, he could in a natural way show that your Lordship had exercised a watchful superintendence over those committed to your care: he proposed, further, to intimate your Lordship's having expressed an opinion on the present occasion, and has no objection to state that your Lordship considered the tract inexpedient or the like (I do not name the precise words, not wishing to seem to prescribe to your Lordship, and more depends on the context), so that he were not obliged to convey his own condemnation, by expressing your Lordship's opinions in any such way, as could be construed into a theological condemnation of the principles of the tract, or a concurrence with the act of the Heads of Houses. He would also gladly mention your Lordship's wish that the Tracts should be closed, and his own cheerful acquiescence, and that they would at once cease. He might add that he did this most readily, and that others by Mr. Keble and myself were, in consequence, omitted.

I own, I think, with deference, that this will fully suffice to prevent your Lordship's 'course being misunderstood.' It will show that your Lordship, with all kindness to individuals, has been for years in the

habit of privately communicating your judgment to them, and that they have received that judgment; that at the present moment your Lordship has been privately in communication with those blamed, and taking measures to prevent any further step which might disturb the peace of the Church; and that at the expression of your Lordship's *wish* an influential publication, which persons apprehended, was at once dropped.

This is, as far as I learn, the utmost which persons at present wish for: I do not mean that if it were asked them whether or no No. 90 should be allowed to go out of print, they might not wish it; but it has not occurred to them: they have confined themselves hitherto to the wish that the Tracts should stop: they think that this would set persons' minds at rest, who are now anxious as to the turn which they may take, and that as soon as they become a fixed body without any possibility of further additions the excitement about them will cease. For there will be nothing fresh to look forward to, which is the great source of excitement. They will have become historical documents, and things past.

But while what those who are now anxious, are desirous of, will thus be conceded in connexion with your Lordship's wish, I may say that (though most cheerfully and readily conceded, as it is recommended in a most kindly spirit by your Lordship) it is no slight matter. It is just what our opponents have long been desiring at your Lordship's hands. They have been clamouring in newspapers that your Lordship should, as they call it, 'put down the Tracts,' i. e. put a stop to them. It does (as Archdeacon Clerke felt), however mildly conveyed, make a great change in the aspect they will bear in history. It is a very different thing from their having been closed naturally by their authors. It does set a sort of mark upon their close and (one need not shrink from owning) put some disgrace upon it, that they were brought prematurely and abruptly to a close, in consequence of apprehensions entertained by the Bishop under whom their authors were placed, and in consequence of this desire. In another case your Lordship would at once realize this, that if the *Quarterly Review* were at this instant to be at once stopped, it would be a strong exertion of influence. I do not say any of this as if we were at all pained at this close of the Tracts, but only to illustrate that it is a considerable act of episcopal superintendence, and that no one could doubt of the vigilance and anxiety of the Bishop from whom it emanated. I do not know of any similar instance in which a work so extensively circulated was at once stopped at the recommendation of a Bishop. I do not happen to know of any case in which ecclesiastical discipline has been at all put in force in this way.

But, while the wishes of the anxious would be thus secured, a great concession readily and cheerfully made, and your Lordship's solicitude evinced, it does, I own, seem to me a much further step to desire the ultimate withdrawal of Tract 90. The one act is that of prudential precaution, the other of condemnation. And this of such condemnation

as has not been exercised upon works against which the gravest charges are brought. Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures were virtually condemned by the University of Oxford, and that on the ground of heretical teaching, and explaining away the doctrines of the Articles, yet no Bishop took the slightest notice of it. Mr. Milman's book explains away many of the miracles of our Lord in a shocking way, is read, but passes wholly unnoticed. Books have appeared, and are appearing continually, denying the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, terming the doctrine which our Church teaches a heresy, but no one interferes with or censures them. There is, I believe, no instance of a book being thus withdrawn from free circulation at the desire of a Bishop. It would be a new act of discipline, one which Mr. Newman, with whatever pain, would obey; but still such a one as has not hitherto been put in practice, and which is not put in practice as to works (such as Mr. Milman's) of the gravest nature.

Your Lordship, I know, will kindly excuse the plainness with which I have ventured to re-state what I mentioned to your Lordship this morning. It would, as Mr. Newman said, put him in a very painful position, expose him to much future misrepresentation; for if people so misrepresent us when our books are there to appeal to, what will they not do when they are not, and they may say what they please?

I mentioned that Mr. Newman had no wish to mention that he had thought—not of bringing the Tracts to a close at once, as will now be done in compliance with your Lordship's suggestion, but—of winding them up at the close of this year. Their sudden close, as it is altogether your Lordship's act, will thus also appear still more manifestly to be so. Your Lordship will therefore, I hope, forgive my expressing my strong conviction that this step will more than vindicate your Lordship's course from being misunderstood, and my earnest hope that your Lordship may be able to see it in this light, and not feel yourself required to inflict what, though done with all tenderness, would be felt to be a heavy blow.

I have the honour to be, with much respect,

Your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

But before the Bishop had received this letter he too had written to Pusey. His letter illustrates, in an eminent degree, those features of his character which won for him the warm respect and affection of his clergy.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO E. B. P.

Cuddesdon, March 26, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

Since you left I have, as you will imagine, thought much of our interview, and have read over and over again Mr. Newman's distressed and touching notes with no small emotion.

I cannot put them aside without hastening to relieve his feelings by repeating my earnest disposition to yield the point he has so much at heart—satisfied that a generous mind like his will not allow me to suffer from any misconstruction by such concession. That is, that he will not shrink from a frank and generous avowal that I had expressed my opinion that the tract was objectionable and likely to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the Church, as well as to state (what I *know* is his intention) my advice that the 'Tracts for the Times' should be discontinued.

I am sure Mr. Newman, if he refers to my first letters to yourself and him, will fully acquit me of any disposition to propose what he now considers would be a '*severe act*.'

It was his *second* letter (in which he twice expresses his fears of being called upon, in any explanatory letter to me, to say *that* which he might think '*dishonest*') which led to the proposal of suppression. In a word—if I do yield the suppression—I feel myself perfectly safe in his hands from any partial or defective statement of my views, and of what I have really said.

I am, &c., &c.,
R. O.

On the following morning the Bishop wrote again, enclosing a letter from the Archbishop.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Lambeth, March 26, 1841.

I think the arrangement which your Lordship has made is very judicious, and I trust it will terminate the troubles which have been excited by the 90th Tract. The announcement of the cessation of the Tracts in a letter to your Lordship, such as you describe, will afford the means of retiring with honour, and at the same time place on record Mr. Newman's attachment to the Church, disapprobation of the errors of Rome, and submission to spiritual authority. A letter of *explanation*, on the contrary, if not quite satisfactory, which it could hardly be made, would have the effect of forcing you to notice its insufficiency, or to appear to be satisfied, when you were not.

Your method of proceeding will, I think, be approved by all sober-minded and wise men. Had you come forward with censure, you might have obtained a temporary popularity, but the effect would have probably been to open a breach, which might have been irreparable: as things now stand, I trust that your amiable intervention will produce the fruit of concord and peace, and leave at liberty a number of men distinguished by their learning and piety to employ their talents in the promotion of religious truth, instead of wasting their talents in defence or explanation of what has been hastily written.

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Most truly yours,

W. CANTUAR.

P.S. The part of the arrangement which I think may be doubtful is the publication of a tract on the Apocrypha. This is a sore point with many people and may probably give offence. I believe that nothing is to be found in the Tracts that have been published on this subject: and anything that is prepared on it might be printed hereafter, or even now, by the author, in a different form. On the other hand, it is but natural that the promised continuation should be given of the 89th Tract on the Mysticism attributed to the Fathers,—without which the dissertation would be incomplete, and it might be convenient to publish it as a continuation and not as a separate tract.

Pusey thought that the worst was over. In the subjoined letter he acknowledges the Bishop's letter of March 26th, and the later note which accompanied the letter of the Archbishop.

E. B. P. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Christ Church, March 27, 1841.

We do beg to thank your Lordship most gratefully for the very kind note which I received from your Lordship this morning, as also for conceding so graciously what Mr. Newman had so much at heart.

He has no difficulty whatever in adopting your Lordship's words, which are, I think, the same as in your Lordship's first letter, and proposes to insert them in the letter which he is writing to you. He says he has no feeling whatever about inserting words ever so strong, in censure of himself, so that they do not seem to identify your Lordship's judgment with that of the Heads of Houses.

He hopes to finish the Letter to-day, and that it will be ready for the Archdeacon on Tuesday in type, in which way the Archdeacon would be able to read it better, and any alterations which may seem advisable to him or to your Lordship may equally be made.

We have now only to express our deep sense of your Lordship's great kindness to us on this difficult occasion as well as heretofore, and our sincere regret at the pain and anxiety which all this disturbance must have caused to your Lordship.

Mr. Newman, to whom I mentioned that I was going to acknowledge your Lordship's kind letter, begged me say everything which could be said of thankfulness for your Lordship's so great kindness and consideration towards him.

I trust that everything now is looking to a peaceful close, though there will be some echoes of the storm, and that a bright and calm evening will succeed a threatening morning.

I beg to subscribe myself, with every sentiment of respect and thankfulness,

Your Lordship's faithful and grateful servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

The above was written before I received your Lordship's note, accompanied by the Archbishop's letter. It is very comforting to see that his Grace sympathizes with us, and agrees with your Lordship's gentle course. I am afraid, I own, of some of your Lordship's other brethren, lest if they seem to take the same view as the Heads of Houses, clergymen under their care should feel themselves unable to retain their cures under their interpretation of the Articles, and so much perplexity be felt, and a slur mistakenly rest upon High Church principles, as though they were inconsistent with holding cures in our Church. (This was what I meant in the immediate place of my letter, in which I seemed to your Lordship to be continuing to speak of Mr. N.) I hope, however, all will be well.

I have not said anything about the Archbishop's letters even to Mr. N., although it would have been a comfort to him to know that he took the same view as your Lordship.

I omitted to say (what I felt certain of) that Mr. N. has been acting on his own judgment entirely in what he has said to your Lordship: he is indeed little apt to communicate his feelings as to himself: what he does is the result of the workings of his own mind, though he does, before he acts in important matters, consult *older* friends.

The Bishop sent back the Archbishop's letter that Newman might read it as 'a letter containing much both of kindness and caution expressed in the fewest, simplest, and best words.' It may be observed that on the same day the second and corrected edition of Tract 90 appeared.

In order to justify the new arrangement at which he had arrived with Newman and Pusey, the Bishop had sent to the Archbishop the three notes of Newman's which had had so much effect upon himself.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Lambeth, March 27, 1841.

I think Mr. Newman's feelings are natural, and that there is some reason in what he says. The *omission* of the 90th Tract would doubtless increase the desire of obtaining it, and no set of the Tracts would be esteemed complete by the curious in books which did not contain it. I am therefore of opinion on this, as well as other accounts, that it might be allowed to go with the rest, and form the conclusion of the last volume. The Letter to Dr. Jelf, with the postscript, would, of course, be printed with it, and it would not be amiss if passages from Mr. Newman's publication on Romanism, condemnatory of the errors of Rome, were appended, by way of explaining the real views of the writer.

I am more strongly impressed, on reflection, with the importance of the suggestion in my letter of yesterday, that the only addition to the Tracts should be the concluding part of Tract 89. It should, I think, be numbered, not as a new tract, but as 89, part 2nd, so as to be inserted in the collection before the 90th, which should close the whole. A new tract on the Apocrypha, attributing inspiration in any degree to those writings, would add fresh fuel to the flame, which, under the most favourable circumstances, will continue for some time to burn fiercely.

Of course, I do not wish my name to be brought needlessly forward, but I have no desire to escape any responsibility which I may incur by avowing my approbation of the part which your Lordship has taken in this distressing business. I have mentioned the circumstances as they stood, when I wrote yesterday, to the Bishops of London and Lincoln, and they agree with me.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Most truly yours,

W. CANTUAR.

P.S. Mr. Newman's intended letter to your Lordship would probably be printed with the 90th Tract, and the citations from his work on Romanism might perhaps be embodied in it with advantage.

The Archbishop, it will be remarked, does not commit himself to any opinion on the subject of the Apocrypha; he only points out the inexpediency, in his judgment, of discussing it at the present juncture. Pusey, who was the author of the proposed tract, had not a moment's hesitation about submitting to his judgment.

E. B. P. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Christ Church, March 28, 1841.

I thank your Lordship very much for your kindness in sending me the two letters of the Archbishop, and for taking so much trouble about it. I communicated freely to Mr. N. everything your Lordship said to me of yourself (feeling assured that your Lordship would wish it), but I did not like, without express permission, to repeat what you had in confidence said of the Archbishop. The first letter has cheered Mr. N. much: the second will yet more; and I hope that he is now much relieved by your Lordship's kindness.

The rough sketch of his letter to your Lordship was finished last night; we thought that the Archdeacon could judge better of it when in type, and any alterations could be made equally. I should hope that it will at all events be out in the course of a week.

I am glad that the publishing of my tract on the Apocrypha has been dropped, and I agree entirely in the Archbishop's opinion upon

it. Mr. Newman had no wish to publish the remainder of Mr. Keble's tract, as the whole could have been printed as a book with Mr. Keble's name : the Tracts being so cheap, the loss of having one imperfect tract would do no great harm to persons, and it would imply a more instantaneous cessation of the Tracts ; otherwise the idea, which the Archbishop approves of, that of publishing the remainder of Tract 89 as a supplement to it, not as Tract 91, had struck Mr. Newman. But the other course of dropping the Tracts at once seems the more complete act, and the most straightforward ; and the leaving part of the fabric unfinished stamps the more upon the work, that it was suddenly broken off in cheerful obedience to the recommendation of those set over us.

I do hope that while this act stamps our own principles, it will raise people's views of ready submission, and so inculcate what has been taught in the Tracts, more than themselves. I hope also that the cessation of the Tracts will be accepted as a peace-offering by the Church.

I thank your Lordship once more, most fervently, for your great kindness in all this anxious and distressing business, although we needed nothing to increase our attachment to your Lordship for your uniform paternal conduct towards us.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect and every grateful feeling,

Your Lordship's faithful and obliged servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

Newman set to work to complete his Letter with the energy and speed which were characteristic of him. He wrote it on Monday, March 29th ; on the 30th it passed through the press and was revised by the Archdeacon ; on the 31st it was published. It explains the objects with which those of the Tracts which had been especially criticized had been written ; it quotes the strong language which the author had used in several publications about the Church of Rome ; and it expresses his thankful and unreserved submission to the Bishop's desire that the ' Tracts for the Times ' should be discontinued. The Bishop's personal kindness ' would be in itself enough to win any but the most insensible heart.'

' But,' adds the author, ' I trust I have shown my dutifulness to you prior to the influence of personal motives ; and this I have done because I think that to belong to the Catholic Church is the first of all privileges here below, as involving in it heavenly privileges ; and because I consider the Church over which your Lordship presides to be the Catholic Church in this country.'

Bishop Bagot thanked Newman most warmly for his letter. He praised the spirit in which it was written. He added that Newman 'would not have cause to repent that he had written it ¹.'

The consideration with which Newman and Pusey were treated by the Bishop had afforded a striking contrast to the earlier proceedings of the Heads of Houses. The Hebdomadal censure had in fact created great dissatisfaction among those persons in Oxford who sympathized with Tract 90, the most important of whom was the Rev. W. Palmer, of Worcester College. Mr. Palmer, it will be remembered, had been on distant terms with Newman, and this made his support of Tract 90 more generous and impartial. He was now acting with the Rev. W. Sewell, of Exeter College. Private negotiations were carried on for a week with the Vice-Chancellor with a view to procuring the publication of a letter which the Vice-Chancellor had privately addressed to Mr. Sewell, and in which he stated that the Board had not intended to pass any *theological* censure on Tract 90. It was suggested, moreover, that a disclaimer of any wish to censure the Tracts generally, or what are called Church principles, might be added. All that could be extorted was a statement 'that the Hebdomadal Board had scrupulously and deliberately endeavoured to guard their proceedings against a violation of the privileges either of Convocation or of the Theological faculty ².'

Looked at from a distance and taken together, the censure of the Heads of Houses and the discontinuance of the Tracts at the request of the Bishop produced a widespread feeling of discouragement among High Churchmen. They exaggerated the importance of the opinion of the Heads of Houses; and they did not know what had taken place in the negotiations which had preceded the discontinuance of the Tracts. The prevalent uneasiness was represented by the

¹ 'Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley,' p. 116.

B. Pusey, D.D., by Rev. W. Sewell, dated March 31, 1841.

² Postscript to a Letter to Rev. E.

Rev. W. Palmer, of Worcester College, in a letter to Pusey asking for his opinion on the merits of a Declaration which accompanied it.

REV. W. PALMER TO E. B. P.

St. Giles', April 1, 1841.

. . . You are scarcely aware of the dissatisfaction at the present state of affairs which exists in the minds of the advocates of Church principles throughout the country. They have seen protests, and censures, University and Episcopal, explanations, concessions, the Tracts relinquished—and it seems to some of them as if people are acting under the influence of a *panic*. I had a letter yesterday from a man of great abilities and most moderate views, totally unconnected with the Tracts, expressing great *dissatisfaction* at the Tracts being relinquished *at this crisis*, and saying that the enemy had only to 'rush in and spike the guns'—that the cry seemed to be '*Sauve qui peut!*' I have had letters from several most influential Churchmen in the same strain, and I might mention the name of one who doubts as to the propriety of discontinuing the Tracts which would command general reverence. I merely mention this to show the dissatisfied state of people's minds just at present. They see that all is concession to popular error, and to hostile *party*, and that in the meantime *nothing* is done to save Church principles—*nothing* is done to remove popular mistakes—*nothing* is done to encourage Churchmen—and some of the most deserving men in the country are trampled under foot. On the one side all is triumph and ferocity, and on the other all is timidity, and apology, and humiliation. Is this a proper position for the great and influential body who hold Church principles?

The Declaration is, as I have already said, no measure of hostility or of party. It is an expression of opinion at which no one ought to take offence. . . .

A DECLARATION.

We, the undersigned, having learned that the publication of the 'Tracts for the Times' is henceforth to be discontinued, are desirous of declaring our sentiments on this occasion.

While we are by no means prepared to express our concurrence with all the doctrines advanced by individual writers in the Tracts, and while we do not dispute the propriety of disconnecting the University from any supposed sanction of those publications, we cannot but gratefully acknowledge the eminent service which their authors have done, in recalling the public attention to the distinctive principles maintained by the Church of England in common with the whole Catholic Church of Christ. We are of opinion that the increased reverence and regard manifested within a few years for the Liturgy, Creeds, Sacraments,

Episcopal polity, and Apostolical succession of the Church ; the greater apprehension of the fearful sin of schism ; and the more diligent attention given to the study of Ecclesiastical History, and of Christian Antiquity, are, to a considerable extent, attributable to the patient and persevering labours of the authors to whom we have alluded.

We further avail ourselves of this opportunity to express a sincere and respectful hope that all advocates of Church principles may be impressed with the extreme necessity for wisdom and sobriety in the statement of their views ; that no offence may be given to the unlearned, and that the peace and harmony of our Churches may not be interrupted. And considering that indulgence to the corruptions of the Church of Rome is as much to be deprecated as any encouragement of the principles of Dissent, we would express our earnest hope that, in conducting both these controversies, the sound and salutary principles of our own branch of the Catholic Church may be cordially and unanimously adopted and advocated.

March 31, 1841.

The names of persons desirous of signing the above Declaration may be forwarded to the Rev. William Palmer, St. Giles's, Oxford.

Pusey sent the Declaration to Bishop Bagot, who thought it 'very moderate and not a whit beyond the strictest justice due,' but considered that 'Church principles do not, at least at this moment, need it.' In a second letter the Bishop explains that 'it is the *time* alone which causes anxiety.' If it was issued now it might be thought uncalled for. It would have great force, 'if opponents rashly began.'

Pusey had suggested to the Bishop that he himself might write something : he was already contemplating his own letter to Dr. Jelf. The Bishop would not discourage him, but he doubted the suitability of the time. He thought it 'desirable that a calm should succeed the last fortnight of agitation, and that Mr. Newman's letter should have time to make its own way (as I feel it will) by its own power.'

The Bishop was not at all aware of the feelings which had been stirred in minds for whose anxieties he would have felt sincere concern. Palmer wrote to him in more explicit terms than he had employed when writing to Pusey. It is evident that the seeds of the disasters of 1845 were already being sown.

REV. W. PALMER TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY LORD,

St. Giles', Oxford, April 3, 1841.

[The Declaration] is intended as an act of *justice* and of *truth*. It is intended to soothe the feelings and remove the apprehensions of the large and influential body of Churchmen who are attached to Church principles, without coinciding in all points with the 'Tracts for the Times.' And may I be permitted to say to your Lordship that the feelings of this body *ought* to be consulted, and that it would be *unsafe* to let them remain in their present state of uneasiness and dissatisfaction? They have seen violent *parties*, opposed to their views, *triumphing* at the course of events lately. They have seen Protests, Censures, University and Episcopal, Apologies, Explanations, the suppression of the Tracts, every possible concession made on the one side—and nothing in the way of conciliation on the other. They have seen *misrepresentations* of the intentions of the Heads of the Church and University spread everywhere. They have heard it boasted, that the Tracts generally, and even Church principles, are *censured*, and that the 'High Church party' has received a great blow. It seems to them that much has been done under the influence of the dread of popular clamour, and they know not what that dread may next lead to. They know not how far the Heads of the Church may themselves be intimidated, and may commit themselves in a manner injurious to the interests of Church principles. I have had communications from moderate and leading Churchmen, *regretting* the discontinuance of the Tracts *at this crisis*, because it may seem like *weakness* and concession to popular clamour.

My Lord, I will venture to add (which I do with feelings of great respect and reverence for the Prelates alluded to), that the present outcry would never have attained its present force, had not some Prelates been induced to take part in it *unintentionally*. The private and unofficial dicta of Bishops have given confidence to violent parties, who, had a different line been adopted, would have been afraid to move. The Heads of the Church have it quite in their power to *suppress this agitation*, and to *restore the FAIR balance of parties*, by approving of the Declaration now put forward. Surely their object *ought* not to be (I speak with the greatest reverence) to give a *complete triumph* to one party.

Under present circumstances, Church principles are more or less *in disgrace*—they are supposed to be viewed with hostility or with distrust in high quarters—they require some support, some encouragement.

I have the honour to remain, my Lord,

With the sincerest respect,

Your most faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM PALMER.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

But the Bishop was not to be moved. He told Mr. Palmer that their objects were the same.

‘Instead of withholding encouragement, I would do all in my power, so far as became me, to encourage whatever could tend to advance “Church principles” as the fragment of a first debt of gratitude to men who have done so much towards the great and manifest *extension* of those principles by many of their writings.’

But he added :—

‘The point in which I differ from you in your letter, is that of Church principles being now more or less “*in disgrace*” from recent events. So widely do I here differ, that in my opinion they will not only themselves derive increased weight and extension from recent events, but that their advocates will stand tenfold higher in the opinions of Churchmen generally, after Mr. Newman’s letter to myself is left to work its own way for a little while.’

This letter put an end to the Declaration. Palmer abandoned it ; he was rejoiced to hear that the Bishop ‘did not anticipate any material injury to Church principles from what had lately occurred.’

Pusey’s sanguine temper leads him to review the situation as follows :—

E. B. P. TO J. R. HOPE, ESQ.

MY DEAR HOPE,

Octave of Easter, 1841.

You will be glad to hear that the immediate excitement about Tract 90 seems subsiding, although I fear (in the minds of many) into a lasting impression of our Jesuitism, &c. ; on the other hand, they who have read what Newman has written since on the subject must be won by his touching simplicity and humility. I should hope, too, a good deal will have been incidentally explained which people thought to be done gratuitously. Every one says how Newman has risen with the occasion. K[eble] writes to-day, ‘I cannot but think that N.’s coming out as he has in this whole business will do the cause a great deal more good than any fresh stir, of which this tract has been made the pretence, is likely to do it harm. People quite unconnected write to one as if they were greatly moved by it.’ The pseudo-traditionary and vague ultra-Protestant interpretation of the Articles has received a blow which it will not recover. People will abuse Tract 90, and adopt its main principles. It has been a harassing time for Newman, but all great good is purchased by suffering, and he was wonderfully calm. . . .

Ever your affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

During April, 1841, pamphlets and tracts upon the burning question were rained upon the Church in unwelcome profusion. One writer saw in the discontinuance of the Tracts a triumph of Christianity¹. Another appealed to the Bishop of Oxford against the bad divinity of the Tract-writers². A country clergyman made remarks on Mr. Newman's doctrine of Purgatory³. Dr. Stedman, of Pembroke College, wrote a Latin letter from Erasmus to Gregory XVI., which Erasmus might or might not have owned as worthy of his pen⁴. Mr. Golightly extracted some new and strange doctrines from the writings of Mr. Newman and his friends⁵. Mr. Robert Lowe, afterwards Lord Sherbrooke, proposed to construe the Articles by themselves⁶. The Rev. Joseph Rathborne asked whether the Puseyites were sincere⁷. Mr. Frederick Denison Maurice explained to Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce his reasons for not joining a party in the Church⁸. The Rev. Dr. Thorpe, the well-known Low Church minister of Belgrave Chapel, reviewed Mr. Sewell, of Exeter College, with less of critical skill than of undoubted sincerity of purpose⁹.

There were other productions better entitled to survive the moment which produced them. Of these not the least noteworthy was Dr. Hook's 'Letter to the Bishop of Ripon'¹⁰, following upon the tempestuous meeting held on behalf of

¹ 'A Triumph of Christianity, or a few observations on the discontinuance of the Tracts for the Times.' By the Rev. Edward Thompson, M.A., Minister of Charlotte Chapel, Pimlico. London, Hatchard, 1841.

² 'Appeal to the Bishop of Oxford on the Divinity of the Tract-writers.' By the Rev. J. Jordan, B.A., Vicar of Enstone. Oxford, Wheeler, 1841.

³ 'Remarks on Mr. Newman's Doctrine of Purgatory.' By a Country Clergyman. Oxford, Vincent, 1841.

⁴ 'Erasmi Roterodami ad Gregorium Decimum Sextum Pontificem. Epistola Singularis.' Oxonii, Baxter, 1841.

⁵ 'New and Strange Doctrines extracted from the writings of Mr. Newman and his Friends: in a letter to the Rev. W. F. Hook, D.D.' Oxford, 1841.

⁶ 'The Articles construed by themselves.' Oxford, 1841.

⁷ 'Are the Puseyites Sincere? A Letter to a Right Reverend Catholic Lord Bishop on the Oxford Movement.' By the Rev. Joseph Rathborne. London, T. Jones, 1841.

⁸ 'Reasons for not joining a party in the Church: a Letter to the Ven. Samuel Wilberforce, suggested by Dr. Hook's Letter to the Bishop of Ripon.' By the Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice, M.A. London, Rivington, 1841.

⁹ 'A Review of a Letter from the Rev. W. Sewell, A.M., to the Rev. Dr. Pusey.' By W. Thorpe, D.D. London, Hatchard and Son, 1841.

¹⁰ 'Letter to the Lord Bishop of Ripon.' By W. F. Hook, D.D. London, 1841.

the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge at Leeds. Dr. Hook had 'originally determined to point out in a pamphlet what he considered to be the errors' of Tract 90. 'But,' he writes, 'the moment I heard that the writer was to be silenced, not by argument, but by usurped authority, that moment I determined to renounce my intention; that moment I determined to take my stand with him, because, though I did not approve of a particular tract, yet in general principles, in the very principle advocated in that tract, I did agree with him ¹.' He carried out this generous and characteristic resolve at the meeting which has been referred to. For a burst of eloquent indignation, in which he professed his intention of 'nailing his colours to the mast of high principle,' he was called to order by the Bishop of Ripon ²; and his letter was written to explain his language. In doing this he did a great deal besides: his letter, short as it is, is one of the boldest and wisest things he ever wrote. But his speech, generous as it was, was much too impetuous to be in keeping with the serious issues it discussed; and Pusey wrote to him with an affectionate freedom which their long friendship alone could warrant, with deep gratitude for his sympathy, but deprecating his use of excited language.

Dr. Hook's reply was creditable alike to the warmth of his heart and his self-accusing humility:—

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Dean's Yard, Westminster, April 30, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

. . . I am very very grateful to you for the kind advice with which you conclude your letter. Always write to me when I do wrong. I have been sadly sensible of my wicked conduct at the meeting, and much humbled at having brought disgrace upon the Catholic cause when Newman and Palmer were maintaining it so consistently with our principles. But I was taken by surprise, and somehow or other anything like too great kindness or sympathy is sure to upset me. If I have only time to bring my principles to bear upon my conduct, I can perhaps do rightly: but my feelings of sympathy are so easily

¹ 'Letter to Bp. of Ripon,' pp. 5, 6. by W. R. W. Stephens, M.A., p. 323

² Cf. 'Life of W. F. Hook, D.D.,' (sixth edition).

excited, that you know not the difficulty I have to control them sometimes even in the pulpit. I have all the elements of a demagogue within me. Pardon my saying so much of myself. It is in the hope of obtaining your special prayers on this point.

Still more important was Wiseman's ¹ Letter to Newman. The purpose of this letter was to object to Newman's distinction in the tract between any part of the authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome and the Decrees of the Council of Trent. He was answered by Rev. W. Palmer, who certainly shows by ample quotations that the living authority of the Church of Rome goes quite far enough beyond the language of Trent to justify Newman's distinction ². Wiseman rejoined in eighty-eight pages of 'Remarks on Mr. Palmer's Letter ³.' If he is at least equal to Palmer in learning, and his superior in temper and courtesy, it is not less certain that he fails to shake Palmer's main positions.

Keble also printed without publishing his 'Case of Catholic Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles,' in the form of a 'Letter to the Hon. Mr. Justice Coleridge'—the heaviest moral rebuke, perhaps, which the Heads of Houses received in the course of the controversy. Pusey was very anxious that it should be published at once to all the world:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

[April 14.]

. . . . N. tells me that you think of printing, not publishing, your pamphlet: I most earnestly hope it will not be so: people in London wish to hush matters up, but it is impossible: it is only the question who and how many shall write, how and in what spirit it shall be discussed, what impression people shall go away with. But people must come to a result one way or another: the waters have not been so stirred only to subside again; and, if they did, it would be very unfavourable to the principles of the Tracts. I am writing myself, because one person reaches one set of minds, another another's. Clergy

¹ 'A Letter respectfully addressed to the Rev. J. H. Newman.' By N. Wiseman, D.D., Bishop of Melipotamus. London, Dolman, 1841.

² 'A Letter to N. Wiseman, D.D. (calling himself Bishop of Melipotamus), containing remarks on his

Letter to Mr. Newman.' By the Rev. W. Palmer, M.A., of Worcester College. Oxford, Parker, 1841.

³ 'Remarks on a Letter from the Rev. W. Palmer.' By N. Wiseman, D.D., Bishop of Melipotamus. London, Dolman, 1841.

in Worcester have been petitioning for a Convocation; the same was set on foot in this diocese but stopped. The first feeling is against the tract; Newman's letter to the Bishop shows his beautiful *ἡθός*, but does not enter into the tract; his letter to Jelf satisfies some, but many not; so it seems to me that the more ways the subject is presented to people's minds the better. Gladstone says the excitement in London is by no means over; Tract 90 will be one of the things thrown in people's teeth for years to come, so the more there is to refer them to, the better: they very likely will not read, but still it will be something to provide for those who will, and deprive of excuse those who will not. Forgive this boldness and presumption; but printing, not publishing, seems a half measure, for which I should be very sorry.

Kindest Easter wishes for Mrs. Keble.

But Keble had already decided the matter.

REV. J. KEBLE TO E. B. P.

Hursley, Friday in Easter Week, 1841.

You will, I fear, think I have done imprudently, but before I received your note (for which I am greatly obliged), indeed four or five days since, having obtained leave from Judge Coleridge to address what I want to say to him, I had actually sent my pamphlet, with directions *not to publish* but only strike off 250 copies. It is still, I imagine, open to me to publish, if it seem advisable, so that if in that respect I have taken a false step it will be easily remedied. And when you see it you will perhaps see that it is so particularly addressed to persons of a certain authority in station that there may seem a fitness in only laying it before them. I have had a good deal of conflicting advice on it, and have at last in a manner satisfied myself with this as probably the least of different evils. . . .

We hope to have Sir W. Heathcote's newly built chapel consecrated on Wednesday. Newman is coming. You cannot I fear (you know how glad we should be to see you), but you will kindly remember us on that day. I cannot but think that N[ewman's] coming out as he has in this whole business will do the cause a great deal more good than any fresh stir, of which this tract has been made the pretence, is likely to do it harm. People quite unconnected write to one as if they were greatly moved by it.

But the fullest discussion of Tract 90 in the course of the controversy occurs in Pusey's Letter to Dr. Jelf¹, whose name was thus a second time connected with Tract 90. Dr. Jelf was, in fact, a very natural person to be addressed

¹ 'The Articles treated of in Tract 90 reconsidered and their interpretation vindicated, in a Letter to the Rev. R. W.

Jelf, D.D., Canon of Christ Church.'
By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. Oxford, Parker, 1841.

in the circumstances. He was not a Bishop, nor a Head of a House; he did not represent any such authority as might have already pronounced, or might hereafter have to pronounce, upon the subject in dispute. On the other hand, he was learned, widely respected, and sufficiently independent of the Oxford writers to be treated as neutral, while yet connected with them by the friendship of many years. Pusey accordingly said to him all that at the moment he had to say about Tract 90 in a letter of 186 pages, with an appendix of 41. In this letter he identifies himself unreservedly with Newman and his work.

‘I have felt no doubt, [after] carefully and conscientiously examining both editions of the tract, that the meaning in which our friend would have them [the Articles] construed in conformity with and subordination to the teaching of the Church Catholic is not only *an* admissible, but *the* most legitimate interpretation of them: it appears to me as clear that they [the Articles] are not directed against anything occurring here and there in the early Church, even though not Catholic, but against the existing system of the Church of Rome.’

After contending generally that the Catholic interpretation of the Articles is the true one, the writer follows Tract 90 in its remarks on all the Articles of which it treats except Art. XXXV. on the Homilies. A commentary on a commentary is apt to be an unattractive form of composition; but Pusey's fervour and the practical interest of his subject go far to overcome this disadvantage. While his doctrinal position is that of Tract 90, his language against Rome is stronger and more explicit. Thus he illustrates at length the interpretation of Art. XXXI. maintained in the tract, but draws out much more fully the difference which he conceives to lie between the primitive doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the sacrifices of Masses. So in treating the points raised in Art. XXII.; the tract, he argues, is right in refusing to admit that any doctrine of Purgatory or Pardons or Invocation of Saints is condemned except the Roman doctrine; but then what the Roman doctrine is, is stated more strongly and illustrated more copiously. The real danger was lest the Article should be understood to deny what was Primitive as well as what

was Roman. The popular interpreters of the Articles were jealous against superstition, not against irreverence.

'Thus together with "the Romish doctrine of Pardons" the whole subject of Absolution is often discarded: with Purgatory, the intermediate state: with Invocation of Saints, the feeling of communion with them in the one Church, of which they are the perfected members: with the veneration of relics, the feeling that "precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints," and the belief in the miracles, which, in some cases at least in the early Church, He certainly wrought through them: thus admitting in fact the very principles of infidelity, and rejecting on *à priori* notions what were after all the "mighty works" of God's hand; or together with the un-Catholic veneration of images, people reject as superstitions all outward reverence for holy things and places: they regard the Altar, whence the holy Mysteries of our Redemption are distributed, as no ways distinguished above the rest of God's House, nor that House itself as sanctified by the presence of Angels and the unseen coming of our Lord. The mere Protestant walks up and down with his hat on, "on holy ground," listening to the solemn tones of the organ at Haarlem.

'It is then, practically also, of moment to distinguish what our Article does condemn as Romish, lest we involve under it feelings, and doctrines, and practices which are primitive. It is of moment to us practically, since it cannot be concealed that many are deterred from practices, which, though not essential, might still be a great safeguard to them, and are countenanced or (under certain circumstances) recommended by our Church, by the fear of approximating to something corrupt in the Romish system¹.'

The passages in this Letter which refer to the Church of Rome, and particularly to the cultus of the Blessed Virgin, were the result of much correspondence and very careful study. Among several acknowledgments of a copy of the Letter to Dr. Jelf which Pusey received from his friends, Archdeacon Manning's was noteworthy. He was 'especially grateful for the parts which are most anti-Romanistic.' His 'whole conscience was made miserable by the frightful turning aside of the affections of men's hearts from the One Object of worship to the Blessed Virgin.' 'Wiseman's letter,' he wrote, 'is to me enough to convict the whole system.

¹ 'Letter to Dr. Jelf,' pp. 76, 77. Perhaps the nearest approach to a difference between Tract 90 and Pusey's Letter is on Art. XIX. Is that Article a loose general description of the existent Church, or a definition

whereby the claims of each portion of it may be tested? The tract pronounces boldly for the former opinion. Pusey apparently hesitates, or rather he writes as if the distinction was not clearly before him.

His parallel of the fondness of children to their mother and obedience to their father with the affections of faith is dreadful.' Pusey's motive in writing these passages, however, was not any wish to throw a sop to Protestant prejudices, but a sincere anxiety lest one section of the Movement should be shutting its eyes to the danger which threatened them from the Roman quarter; an anxiety which was not without its ground in fact. The following passage from his Letter to Jelf clearly shows his motive:—

'The character in which Rome exhibits herself in England much aggravates our present difficulties: her policy is a corruption of the Apostolic wisdom, to "become all things to all, that by all means it may" gain some; "it falleth down and humbleth itself, that the congregations of the poor may fall into the hands of its strong ones." Her principle, that there is no salvation out of communion with herself, makes it her first object to draw people anyhow into her communion. The extent, too, of her communion is the tangible proof she puts forward of her being *the* Catholic Church. This is a sore temptation to her to bend, relax, fall in with unholy ways and usages, which promote this her first end. She would further holiness as much as she can; but she cannot afford to do what is right if it would cause the unholy to part from her. She is obliged to temporize, to lure, to condescend, when she cannot control. In some countries she is suffering the penalty of former sins, having to support the credit of false miracles, which she cannot disavow without owning the past to have been a fraud; while in all over which she has dominion she will tolerate and profit by what she dares not approve; will sit by in silence while men tell falsehood or use violence in her behalf; will suffer visions and miracles which she does not believe to be believed by her people, and to bring gain to her clergy; and even in her own guarded province of the faith will permit unauthorised doctrines (such as that of the Immaculate Conception) to creep in and take the public honours of truth¹ wherever men are disposed to receive them. It is painful to think and speak of these things in another member of the mystical Body of Christ, who once was the bulwark of the Faith and a pattern of zeal, and who still has holy practices and institutions which we might gladly imitate; but Rome forces it upon us by sending among us to steal away the hearts of the children of our Church, boldly denying whatever corruptions our people have not before their eyes; since these things were swept away by the Reformation, and she has been able to begin anew in a spirit more congenial to that of religious minds here, and more approximating to early Christianity².'

¹ Festivals and Churches in honour of it.

² 'Letter to Dr. Jelf,' pp. 159-161.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CONSEQUENCES OF TRACT 90—WARD AND OAKELEY—
DIVERGENT VIEWS OF THE REFORMATION—TREAT-
MENT OF MR. KEBLE'S CURATE—PUSEY'S VISIT TO
THE ARCHBISHOP—EPISCOPAL CHARGES.

1841.

THE hopes that the controversy might die away, which so often find expression in letters of this period, were not to be realized. They were frustrated partly by the reiterated outcries of ultra-Protestant controversialists, and partly, it must be added, by the exaggerated or paradoxical advocacy which was sometimes employed in defence of the tract. Pusey and Keble could not monopolize the defence of Tract 90. The men for whom it was mainly written would have something to say about it, and they would not be disposed to minimize the expressions in it which had provoked Low Church or Latitudinarian criticism. Indeed one effect of the tract was to make a section of the Oxford school, which had lately come into notice, keenly conscious of its separate temper and aims, which were not those of Pusey and the older men. As Newman afterwards said, this section was 'sweeping the original party of the Movement aside and was taking its place.' It was, as compared with the older party, less careful about authority, whether Primitive or Anglican; more disposed to *à priori* reasoning, to the elaboration and advocacy of symmetrical systems, to the imperious exigencies of bare logic, to bold and striking generalizations, to a philosophical treatment of pure theology. Such a mental disposition might, and indeed did eventually, lead in more directions than one¹; but what its direction would be was as yet uncertain; the only thing

¹ e. g. in the cases of W. G. Ward, F. Oakeley, and Mark Pattison.

that was clear about it to Newman was that 'it needed keeping in order¹.' Of this section the two prominent men were Oakeley and Ward. They came to be what they now were out of very different antecedents, and they were very unlike each other. But they were at this moment united by a disposition to urge the Movement forwards in a manner calculated to imperil its original scope and purpose, its present coherence, and the eventual loyalty, at least of some of its members, to the English Church.

Certainly not the least remarkable products of the controversy about Tract 90 were given to the world when Mr. W. G. Ward published two pamphlets and an appendix on the question of the day². These pamphlets contained several propositions which went beyond the ground actually occupied by Newman; and Pusey was distressed not only by their general tone, but also by the disparaging language contained in them about the Reformers. Certainly this language got its author into trouble, which, it must be added, he took very quietly. He felt bound to resign his two lectureships at Balliol, and he was inhibited from preaching in Margaret Chapel, of which the Rev. F. Oakeley was, at the time, minister. Oakeley felt warmly about the treatment of his friend, and Pusey found it difficult to say what he really thought about Ward's unbalanced logic without appearing to sympathize with the severe treatment that was dealt out to him. The difficulty was increased by the correspondence which followed between Oakeley and Pusey. Oakeley sent a message from Ward to Pusey on June 22nd to the following effect:—

'Ward knew of no theological subject on which he should venture to have an opinion different from Newman. . . . At the same time, Ward would certainly *not* pledge himself not to join Rome under *any* circumstances, nor from what he has heard N. say, does he think he would.'

¹ Newman, 'Apologia pro vita sua' (ed. 1880), p. 164.

² On April 10, 1841, appeared 'A few words in support of No. 90.' Oxford, Parker, 1841. On May 21, 'A few more words in support of No. 90,' by the Rev. William George

Ward, M.A., Fellow of Balliol College Oxford, Parker, 1841. On June 21, 'Appendix to a few more words in support of No. 90, in answer to Mr. Lowe's pamphlet,' by the same. Oxford, Parker, 1841.

Then the July number of the *British Critic*, which had now passed into the hands of Mr. T. Mozley, contained an article by Oakeley on Bishop Jewel. It is a clever, but one-sided essay, containing much truth, and some exaggerations, about Jewel and the Reformers, and no adequate statement of the causes which made some reformation necessary. But the real interest of the article lay not in its worth as a piece of historical criticism, but in its bearing upon the actual circumstances of the movement.

'We cannot stand,' the writer observes, 'where we are. We must go backwards or forwards, and it will surely be the latter¹.'

Pusey was on a visit to Ireland when he received this article. It was best to go at once to head-quarters: so he wrote to Newman.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Kingstown, July 20, 1841.

. . . Oakeley has sent me his article in the last *British Critic* (my own copy has not reached me). I am grieved that he and Ward think it necessary to act as 'public prosecutors' against the Reformers. It is surely not leaving it 'an open question' if the *British Critic*, which is supposed to express all our opinions, engages in such a crusade against them. I do not see how, according to any etiquette, the *British Critic* could, in another number, apologize for the Reformers, and if not, then it is committed to a view of a certain section. I am very anxious, too, about the movement tone which it implies. He speaks (last page but one) as if all which had been hitherto gained since the Tracts commenced were nothing, not sufficient to justify 'the breach of peace and charity' which has taken place; as though it were nothing to have recovered the true doctrine of the two Sacraments, of Justification, the Church, Judgment to come, Repentance, Apostolic Succession, Charity, Fasting, Submission to the authority of the Church, the *quod ubique*, &c., unless we take a certain view of the Reformation and 'go forwards,' he does not say whither. I should think this indefiniteness in itself very injurious: it is one thing for ourselves privately to feel or to say that (if so be) we have not cleared our views as to the Power of the Keys, or to confess that we have or may have much yet to learn, another to set persons adrift, tell them that they are to go forwards somewhither, urge them on, and give them (in the case of younger men) neither chart nor compass. And why may not such as I, if we can, think the English Reformers meant to be Catholic? There are

¹ *British Critic*, No. 59, p. 45.

confessedly two elements in them—submission to the authority of the early Church, and perplexed views on subjects which the foreign Reformers had perplexed. Why should not one think them (if one can) implicitly Catholic while their language is perhaps Zwinglian? Or why should their appeal to Zurich be thought fatal to their Catholicism, when persons confessedly Catholic, as Cosins and Andrewes and Laud (who had not seen the development of the foreign Reformation) maintain that the foreign Reformers meant the same as we, i. e. were equally Catholic? Why should the tables be turned and it be argued that they meant that we were the same as they really are, i. e. Un-catholic?

I should not regret so much the breaking-up which these views imply (although one does feel any parting); we might do all the better for evidently not being a party; but I fear it will give the Romanists occasion to triumph the more over our disunion, and perplex still more those who are inclined to leave, when they see nothing to lean on—one giving them one solution of the act by which our Church was continued to us, one another. Thus I could not [but] fear much perplexity in a case in which I am engaged: one tells her that the act of consecrating Archbishop Parker was a sin; another, as myself, justifies it. It must be a great additional temptation to secede from our Church when even the one section of it, whom such people would be inclined to trust, is at variance within itself, and yet attaching so much importance to the point at issue as the last number of the *British Critic* does. But I am yet more concerned for the 'movement party itself.' The *British Critic* throws out this view as the only rope to a drowning man, and yet implies a doubt in italics 'whether it will hold.' It makes one heavy-hearted and think that one's office is done.

Oakeley's article was not Pusey's only grievance. The same number of the *British Critic* contained also a review of a lecture which Dr. Faussett, in his capacity of Margaret Professor of Divinity, had delivered on Tract 90 in the Divinity School. The lecturer defended the popular interpretation of the Articles, and denounced the tract as evasive and fallacious. The reviewer, who was no other than the new Editor of the *British Critic* himself, had no difficulty in pointing out the weakness and inconsistencies of the lecture; but, being a man of great humour, he was tempted to illustrate it by an apologue, which soon became more famous than either the lecture or the review. Everybody in and out of Oxford knew who were meant by the two dogs 'Growler

and Fido'; and the sombre controversy of the hour was lighted up by a flash of inevitable and well-nigh universal merriment¹.

Pusey was by no means without a sense of humour, but he distrusted humour as a weapon of religious controversy; its employment blinded men to the greatness of the issues at stake and to the requirements of charity. Accordingly he continues his letter to Newman as follows:—

[July 20, 1841.]

'I enclose a letter from Jelf, written, as you see, hastily, and not as meant to be seen, but which shows the effect of these articles on such men. I could not but regret myself (and so did Dr. Todd) the tone of the article against Dr. F[aussett]: it seems like the work of a follower who wished to avenge his leader (you) and thought it did not matter how hard blows he dealt, since he was not "avenging himself," but forgot that, as it is scarcely known that you have ceased to be editor, and it is still naturally under your influence, he was committing you. If anything could create sympathy for Dr. F., or spoil our cause, it would be such an article. We write mildly with our names, but our supposed organ is as vehement as the *Record* or the *Observer*.

'I have poured out my sorrows to you, and you will excuse it.'

Keble wrote to Newman on July 4th in the same sense about the 'Growler and Fido' article:—

'Has not our friend,' he asked, 'gone beyond the just limits of Christian, and if it may be said in the same breath, of gentlemanly severity in several parts—I fear, to be honest, I must say—in the general conception and execution of that paper? To persons who do not know M.—how far he is from everything that is spiteful, the very consciousness of which, I imagine, makes him freer in his rebukes—it will seem, I fear, as if something like personal malice and revenge had to do with it. . . . Would it not be well to put a drag on T. M.'s too Aristophanic wheels, else he will get us all into a scrape? You will guess I was startled when I tell you that I was rather looking for an apology for the sentence of which I complained to you in the last number, about "How happy should I be with either," &c., and instead of it I find him running riot in a whole long paper.'

Keble added that he 'particularly liked' Oakeley's article on Jewel.

Newman replied sympathetically. He did not wish to

¹ See 'Letters of J. B. Mozley,' p. 121.

look indulgently at such articles as that on Dr. Faussett. Indeed, he was much annoyed at it, and he would exert himself to set things on a better footing. But how could this be done? Could certain subjects be excluded from the *British Critic*? Would it be wise or prudent to give this periodical up, and allow it possibly to pass into other hands? Newman himself, when editor, had declined to be answerable for Oakeley's article on Jewel¹. But he urged upon Pusey—with more generosity perhaps than true foresight—that 'such effusions are the relief to many minds'—safety-valves which could not be stopped without risking an explosion. He himself had just suppressed R. Williams' translation of the Breviary, and had prevented two intending seceders from going over to Rome.

Pusey was not satisfied:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Sandy Cove, Kingstown, July 27, 1841.

. . . I am sorry to harass you with fresh anxieties, when you are already beset with so many; but Oakeley's writings are very painful to me. As you say, 'one man's meat is another man's poison': they would be to me the very strongest temptation to go over to the Church of Rome, did I, being a layman, embrace them, and they will, I fear, much aggravate our difficulty in retaining many who are so tempted: strong minds may be kept, or others by an instinctive feeling; but I should think in many there would be such a strong repugnance at thinking that anything which had so unblessed an origin could be from God, as to outweigh everything besides. I should doubt Oakeley's having historical knowledge enough for such a view; I should think he was theorizing on others' facts, and going beyond them: in his pamphlet he does exhibit the Reformers in such a degraded light; puppets, set in motion not by any needs of their own, but by Henry's lusts: going as little a way as they could, but moving because they must: helpless and casting about for help, whenever it might be to be had, because they had no views of their own: it is certainly unutterably degrading to our poor Church, if not such a mark upon her, that people would think it a duty to leave her. (I do not see how he reconciles such a view with Cranmer's refusing to sign the Six Articles.) But it is not a practical question for you as yet. I hardly see how the *British Critic* can express both this view and the opposite, and if these be its principles, how Manning e. g. can continue to write in it. How-

¹ Mozley, 'Reminiscences,' ii. 244.

ever, if he does not feel the difficulty, there is no occasion to suggest it; and I am no writer. So I am only venting my own uneasiness. There is, however, the practical difficulty, whether the *British Critic* is to express all our views, or only those of a section: it is one thing to leave (as Oakeley once said) the Catholicity of the Reformation an open question, another thing to brand it as he is now doing. I do not see how the *B. C.* can take both sides without destroying the impression produced by unity; so there seems no alternative, but either saying nothing about the Reformation or that the *B. C.* should be the organ and representative of Oakeley's section. I am truly sorry to pain you with all this. . . .

I was in hope that Is. [R.] Williams was at work at the Paris Breviary in a form consistent with our Formularies (Edward the Sixth's first Book) since the Reformation.

Things are so altered, and so much beyond me, that I feel to have neither opinion nor judgment: so do not be influenced by anything which I have ever expressed.

Every good wish.

Your very affectionate and grateful,

E. B. PUSEY.

Newman's answer was marked by the consideration which is his characteristic; but it was not at all calculated to reassure Pusey.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel College, July 30, 1841.

I am very sorry you are so much out of heart. As to Oakeley, I suppose in my heart I dislike the Reformers as much as any one, but I do not see the need of saying so, except so far as the purpose of self-justification goes, and the duty of honesty. If a person asks me, I must tell him; if he says, 'either you are evasive *or* the Reformers,' I am driven to say something in self-defence. But certainly I wish with all my heart the subject to be dropped on both sides. Yet on the other side I suppose men will not be silent. I think decidedly there has been too much of it in the *British Critic*.

As to the said *B. C.*, I suppose every Review must depend on men *who will write for it*. It is a great difficulty to get men to write. Oakeley and some others are ready writers, and have more time on their hands than we have, and this has thrown it upon them. Certainly I made a great effort to make it *literary* and scientific, but it failed. Keble and Rogers wrote some articles on Poetry. I wished to stimulate others to write on Astronomy, &c., &c. R. Palmer has written on Grammar. But I fear I must say that, if it is to be theological, it will to a certainty take a (so-called) ultra tone, if clever men are to write for it. Clever men will not content themselves with defending theories which they feel in their hearts to be indefensible, e. g. Palmer's views.

I assure you I shall try all I can to turn it into the literary channel, and if my will has its way, I will put a stop to all attacks on the Reformers. But then comes the point—if the Editor *cannot* get literary, &c. articles. I certainly will represent the matter strongly to Oakeley and Ward, but they have but one thought in their mind. Their mind is possessed with one subject. . . .

My *μονή* at Littlemore is getting on, but I am very faint-hearted about anything coming of it.

Newman was now in fact between rival influences. On one side were Ward and Oakeley, with a train of younger followers, Rev. M. Pattison, Rev. J. B. Morris, and others, urging the wheels of an unbalanced logic in the direction of Rome, although without as yet any definite idea of going thither. On the other was Pusey, and—in his own way—Keble, unalterably devoted to the English Church, and firmly convinced that the Catholic truths and principles to which the Movement had appealed were best obeyed by steadfast adherence to her. Newman was still, in sympathy and judgment, working with Pusey¹; but Ward was at his side, ready at any moment to become the Phaethon of the Movement and to drive its chariot down the steep. If a catastrophe was to be averted Newman must exert a stronger control than heretofore over the ardent spirits around him; but he has told us, in pathetic language, how at the very time when a strong wrist was most needed, the reins broke in his hands².

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel, August 3, 1841.

Ward has just made his appearance, and tells me that some letters have passed between you and him, partly about myself. I am very glad indeed that he should speak openly with you about himself, but you must not (I see from what he says) take him as a fair reporter about me. Every one colours what he hears by his own mind—from one instance Ward has told me, I see he has done so too. I have no doubt that on many points he knows more what I think than you do, because he has asked me more questions, but I am as sure that he has often not taken in my exact meaning; and often mistaken a conjecture or an opinion for a formal assertion. I do not know what he has

¹ Cf. the article on 'Private Judgment,' *British Critic*, No. 59, p. 134.

² 'Apologia,' p. 229.

written to you about, except generally that the Reformers come in ; and I say so little about them, I don't think he can have got from me more than I have already directly or indirectly said in print. But, however, it matters not. I am sure that it is right that you should have heard his opinions, but I do trust he will keep them to himself as much as possible. If you think it worth while, I will make remarks on his letter to you, if you send it me. Of course I can be no judge whether it is worth while, not having seen it—and really not wishing to see it.

P. S. I have given up the notion of a monastic body at present, lest a talk should be made. I have got a room where I can put my books, and myself. Also I have a number of spare cottages. If any one chooses to come there from London, Oxford, or elsewhere, for any time he may have a retreat, but without anything of a coenobitium. It is only, in fact, furnishing him with lodgings.

Newman's letters had made it clear to Pusey that he and Ward were defending Tract 90 on incompatible principles. If the Reformers were disingenuous, he had himself made a mistake ; while if they were honest, though in no sense infallible, Ward was certainly mistaken.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Sandy Cove, Kingstown, August 9, 1841.

You will think it strange that I did not know your opinion of the Reformers, but the preface to 'Remains,' Part II, not having fallen in my way, I never happened to read it, as I can and do read very little. I saw from Tract 90 that you thought the Reformers took the Articles in a less Catholic sense than we do, but I had no thought that you held them to be 'disingenuous.' My own impression has been that they wished to be Catholic, and that their appeals to antiquity were sincere (and so I thought Jewel), but that they were entangled more or less with the Zwinglian notions afloat and held by the foreign Reformers with whom they were unhappily intimate. One might evidently interpret their declarations of submission to antiquity by their Zwinglianism, or their Zwinglianism by their declarations. I have done the latter, looking upon them as implicitly Catholic and sympathizing with their difficulties, I mean the real practical difficulty of separating what was Catholic in the existing system from what was modern and un-Catholic. Ward and Oakeley urge their fraternizing with Calvin, &c., as a proof of their anti-Catholicism ; but when such persons as Laud, Cosin (not to say Hooker), and, I believe, all our writers till ourselves, have interpreted Calvin, &c. in a sound sense as to the Sacraments, I do not think this fair : I suppose that until one saw the development of Calvinism and Lutheranism into Rationalism, people would not venture to see them in their true light. The event has been the comment on tendencies which persons perhaps ought not

to have pronounced on beforehand. Our Reformation has had, amid whatever reverses, a steady tendency to develop itself into Catholicism, and to throw out the impure elements which came into the Church; the foreign Reformation has developed the contrary way into Rationalism and Pantheism; and therefore I think we have a right to infer that there was a difference in their original *ἡθoς*—ours intrinsically Catholic, though with something un-Catholic cleaving to the agents in it, theirs intrinsically un-Catholic, though with some semblance of Catholicism. . . .

It is a great relief to me that you mean to urge Oakeley and Ward to be quiet; it is surely a diseased state of mind to be so taken up with one subject, and that a sort of persecution of the memory of those whose dross, we trust, God has cleansed away. I should think that negative position, of taking a line against persons, a very dangerous one, and very unhealthy to humility in a young man. . . .

Ever your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Pusey was mistaken in thinking that Newman had written the Preface to Froude's 'Remains,' to which Oakeley had appealed in his article on Bishop Jewel. Keble was the real author, but if the whole passage be read it will be seen that Keble's motive is to defend by a Scriptural analogy the work of the Reformation at the expense of the Reformers, and not to interpret the character of the work by that of the men¹.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel, August 13, 1841.

The Preface to the 'Remains' is Keble's, not mine, though of course I agree with it.

I fully thought that you professed, and wished, in your late pamphlet to give your views, not mine. Indeed, I fancied you had said so in the pamphlet. I thought you were not unwilling to show that the *same* interpretation might be given of the Articles, without the *opinions* which I connected with it, both as regards ourselves and Rome. I fancied you thought I had clogged my view with matter which gave offence, and which you were wishing to remove. Of course I did not think so myself, but was very glad that others should think so, if by throwing my opinions aside they embraced my interpretation.

You *noticed* to me these additions of mine, as far as the *Council of Trent* went, and you asked me to cut off the last sentences of the tract, which *related to the Reformers*, which made me suppose that you felt my opinion about *them*.

I really do think, and always have said, that it was wisest to *show*

¹ Froude's 'Remains,' Part II, pref. p. xxii.

that we did *not* agree in certain points of this kind. If *we* did not agree, we might be sure others would not; and I think it best to provide food for *all* minds, and not quarrel with one liking herbs and the other flesh.

This is the only reason why I should be tempted to wish the Reformers exposed at once, except indeed the *νέμεσις* which is natural to one. But I have felt in no hurry on this ground, as being sure that it is only a question of time *when* they would be seen in their true colours. And I think there is something of impatience in those who are now eager to write against them.

I fear I must express a persuasion that it requires no deep reading to dislike the Reformation. 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.' If one wants a monument, *circumspice*—whence all this schism and heresy, humanly speaking, but from it? And I fear I must say that the *historical* characteristics of its agents are such that one need not go into their doctrines or their motives.

But I need hardly say that it is an unpleasant thing to me to speak of persons I am so far from looking up to. As to yourself, I have not pressed my thoughts upon you, as for this and many other reasons, so especially for the following, that, since every one is in some way or other influenced by every one else, I did not like to be the means of making you, *τοιούτους ὄν*, think of any act or person otherwise than you would have done without me.

I do not think that Oakeley and Ward are eager on running down the Reformers for the sake of doing so, but as feeling that our Church cannot be right till they are exposed, till their leaven is cast out, and till the Church repents of them. I think they would do better if they left all this to *time*. Truth *will* work.

It is not easy to answer such a question as whether the Articles are disingenuously framed or no, for the question is *who* are the framers, which is in a measure unknown. . . .

I have nowhere committed myself to the assertion that the *whole* of the decrees of Trent can be interpreted catholically. I have not attempted to draw the line *how far* they are Catholic.

I hope you will get some useful information about *μολαί* by what you see in Dublin.

P.S. I am just now, as you wish, stopping a *book* against the Reformers in quite a *different quarter*. . . . I have written concisely and drily, for my hand aches so with writing that it annoys me to write many words.

Pusey had some few more words of explanation to add:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[Sandy Cove, Kingstown.

No date, but end of August, 1841.]

Thank you again for your full explanation. I certainly meant (as I said) to vindicate your interpretation of the Articles as honest, without suspecting the Reformers to be dishonest. . . .

Every one must feel that there was a great deal of sin about the Reformation in all the sacrilege and oppression to the monks, &c. which took place, but I have not been accustomed to consider it as being in the Reformation, as a religious act, as far as our Church was concerned, or in the part which our Bishops took. I have been accustomed to lay the sin upon the State and greedy ambitious laymen, on the Sovereign, upon the indirect not the direct instruments of the Reformation; so that as for Charles' murder, the guilt rests upon [us] as a nation, not as a Church. . . .

Thank you for consulting my wishes about the History of the Reformation. If this were undertaken without strong bias, I should not mind any result, though I think it would shake people less, and tempt them less to go to Rome (supposing the result unfavourable) later than now. What I dread is, this habit of writing down the Reformers in the off-hand way of short articles and pamphlets. I should be sorry indeed that a person should undertake a History with a settled bias (as the German Arnold, who wrote a History of the Church, with a view to apologise for all heretics, and consequently censuring the Church), else there is more hope that a person who is bound down to facts will make them less subservient to theory than one who, as Oakeley and Ward, are pleading a cause under strong excitement, with only reference to facts here and there. More of this, however, when we meet. I shrink from the responsibility of anything great being withheld on such judgment as mine.

The Romanists here certainly think that you have stated the whole of the Council of Trent to be Catholic, and so think that the reunion of the two communions depends only on the extension of your views; that 'what has been so long a problem is now solved,' how the Church could be reunited without sacrificing the Council of Trent. They think they have nothing to do but to await our time for rejoining them. I fear this will act unfavourably upon them: for though I believe the Council of Trent mostly to have meant to oppose error, I do not think the caballing spirit, which their own historians speak of, one likely to be consistent with the Presence of that Spirit, Who should secure them from error, or that they were so secured in things which they declared to be of faith.

The difference between Pusey and Newman which is observable in the foregoing correspondence may be illustrated by an extract from a letter of the Rev. T. E. Morris, Student and Tutor of Christ Church. Mr. Morris had told Pusey of his agreement with Tract 90, and had consulted him as to the duty of mentioning this to Dean Gaisford. He afterwards resigned his Tutorship in 1846: he died only a few years since as Vicar of Carleton, Yorkshire.

REV. T. E. MORRIS TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR SIR,

Ch. Ch., Sept. 6, 1841.

. . . You do not know, I only wish you could know, of what service you have been to me. . . Had it not been for you I think I should never have been disposed to look into such writings as Newman's, or have had such friends as could have brought me into contact with him.

I hope you will not imagine that I am thinking my opinion of any more weight now than heretofore ; I only suppose that under present circumstances I shall best meet your wishes by expressing it. It was some time before I perceived any difference between your teaching and Newman's, but for the last two or three years (I think it is as long as this) I have been unable to help thinking that there was a difference so great that it must appear sooner or later. You seem to me to be agreed as to what is Christian truth (and the strange circumstances of the Church have made this to be a *marked* agreement) but to differ widely as to the relation in which different parties of men stand towards it, and the manner in which it may best be applied to the present state of the world. I have thought also that, while Newman did not at all commit himself to any of your statements on these points, you continued to speak as if you were entirely agreed with him, and this I could not account for. I for some time supposed that all this difficulty must be owing to my misapprehension, and have more than once found myself at a loss when asked how your teaching was to be reconciled with his, till one day I ventured to say to Ward, 'I cannot help thinking that posterity will look upon Pusey and Newman as belonging to perfectly different schools; they seem to be agreed on those points on which all Churchmen ought to be agreed as matter of course, but no further'; to which he replied, 'I am very glad to hear you say so; I have always wondered how any one could think otherwise, but we must remember that that agreement is one for which one should be very thankful in these times.' Some further conversation passed which led me to look back to Newman's letter to the *Christian Observer*, my impression being that he had there committed himself to entire agreement with your writings up to that time, but I could not find this to be the case. When I speak of agreeing with Ward I only mean that, so far as I can understand, his is Newman's view of things, and that I have as yet seen nothing advanced to invalidate it. I have always heard Newman speak as if he entirely agreed with Froude and Keble in their view of the English Reformation, and though I cannot pretend to anything approaching to such knowledge of the history as would justify my saying that such is my own view, yet I must say that I have seen no case made good against it, and that whenever I have been led to look into any point of the history I have found it confirmed; though from the great variety of reading which, owing to past neglect, the duty of a tutor throws upon my

hands, I hardly manage to read any subject with such method as shall enable me to refer to particular instances, and cannot substantiate the above assertion, which however is strongly on my mind as a general impression. . . .

Believe me, dear Sir, yours very respectfully,

THOS. E. MORRIS.

Of the divergence between Newman and Pusey hinted at in the foregoing letter, the Oxford world generally had become aware. Mr. W. G. Ward, it appears, had told a friend of Golightly's that 'a certain party in this place might now be considered to be divided into disciples of Mr. Newman and disciples of Dr. Pusey—the latter opposed, the former no longer opposed, to Rome¹.' Through Mr. Golightly this admission soon became public property. But Pusey was most unwilling to recognize any such difference of view; he would not recognize it as long as he could avoid doing so; and he took every opportunity of endeavouring to engage Newman in efforts which implied that their line of thought and action was still the same. Thus when some little time later Pusey's Assistant-Lecturer in Hebrew, Mr. Seager, had caused much anxiety by conversation which implied a disposition to join the Church of Rome, Pusey wrote to beg Newman that he would influence him in an opposite direction.

E. B. P. TO THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

116 Marine Parade, Brighton, Jan. 3, [1842].

. . . I very much wish you could quiet him. He has a theory that Rome must be in the right because she is a Church (and on the same ground we are also), and that it is necessary to talk down Anti-Romanism, and defend Romanism, in order to make way for Catholicism. . . . I have entreated him again and again to be quiet, because, whether he will or no, he is committing me, and using any influence he may have from his connexion with me, against myself: I have told him also that his conversation seemed to me very unsettling, and that if any one went over to Romanism, who heard much of his conversation, I should think him in part responsible; but this he thinks no evil. . . . But I hear again and again of the way in which he offends

¹ 'Correspondence illustrative of the actual state of Oxford.' Oxford, Macpherson, 1842, p. 9.

people, and the suspicion in which I am in consequence held. I think he would mind you. . . .

Ever yours most affectionately and thankfully,
E. B. PUSEY.

Nor were these efforts unresponded to.

'S. is out of Oxford,' Newman replied on Jan. 13, 'but I have written to him and am to see him on Saturday.' 'I had some talk with S. yesterday,' he writes on Sunday, the 16th, 'and from what he said, I hope he is in a better mind than he was.'

Bishop Bagot, when writing to authorize Pusey's 'Prayers for Unity,' added an expression of his regret at some of the articles in the recent number of the *British Critic*.

E. B. P. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Christ Church, Sept. 8, [1841].

I thank your Lordship for your kind note. Your Lordship was rightly informed that Mr. Newman is no longer editor of the *British Critic*; but he is very anxious that it should be conducted in a right spirit. He was much annoyed by the article on Dr. Faussett; it is most strange, but most unfortunate, that the writer had never seen Dr. F., and knew not how exactly he was describing him. Mr. N. is very anxious that there should be nothing of this sort. I also was much pained by the article on Jewel; I believe we may anticipate that this sort of article will not be continued. Altogether, it is Mr. Newman's earnest wish that the Review should be free from anything objectionable; he was alive to people's feelings about it, and will do what in him lies to meet them.

I thought it best to read to him what your Lordship said about it, and this will make him more desirous that it should be what your Lordship wishes.

I have the honour to be, with much respect,
Your Lordship's faithful and obliged servant,
E. B. PUSEY.

The Oxford writers may have hoped that Bishop Bagot's moderate and judicial attitude would be also that of his Episcopal brethren. If they did, they were soon to be rudely undeceived. A first indication of what was coming was furnished by a refusal of Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Winchester, to admit the Rev. Peter Young, then curate of Hursley, to Priests' Orders. The particulars of this unhappy

proceeding on the part of the Bishop are given in a letter from Keble to Pusey. Mr. P. Young was going to Ireland, where Pusey was staying in July, 1841, and Keble was anxious that Pusey should advise him how to act :—

REV. J. KEBLE TO E. B. P.

Hursley, July 17, 1841.

. . . Just now he [Mr. P. Young] wants all the sympathy and support he can get : for he has been placed in the condition of something like a confessor by a severe act of our Diocesan. (I *must* write to you of it, though I am not sure whether it is generally known yet : yet I can hardly understand how it can be kept a secret.) The fact is that he presented himself for Priests' Orders last week at Farnham Castle, was examined on Thursday and Friday morning, and sent back *unordained*. A clergyman at Winchester, Mr. Crowdy, had previously refused to sign his testimonials, on the ground of his connection with me, and because in some sermon which he had heard Young had spoken as I should of wilful sin after Baptism. This was no doubt known to the Bishop, and he *did* make some technical difficulty about receiving Young's testimonials, but without saying anything of any doctrinal scruple : so that when on my intercession he did at last allow him to present himself, we were not in the least prepared for what occurred. He was immediately set to answer a long string of questions all tending one way : the first being, in substance, How do you govern yourself in the construction of the Thirty-nine Articles? And the last, Explain Consubstantiation, Transubstantiation, and the doctrine of our Church as differing from both. He answered, setting forth the doctrine of a real though spiritual Presence, as distinct from corporeal on the one hand and merely figurative on the other. The Bishop himself, backed by both his Chaplains (James and Jacob), summoned him to explain his answer ; refusing to accept a statement (which he made unreservedly) in the words of the Catechism and Articles, and saying he wanted his own words : objecting also, as I understood, to his denying that the Presence was figurative, and urging the passage from Hooker, in which he seems to say that the Real Presence is not to be sought in the Sacrament but in the worthy receiver. The end of it was that he recommended Young to go away and get clearer views on the subject : intimating also that there were other points in his answer on which he should have demurred (one which he specified was, his stating that the doctrine of the Sufficiency of Scripture was not distinctly set down in Scripture, but rather to be gathered from Catholic Antiquity) : but that he had no occasion to enter into them now. On the whole it looks more like a deliberate beginning of serious vexation on the part of

authority than anything I have met with yet¹. Certainly it is a most unhappy one as to the person most concerned; for if one man is more blameless and devoted than another, I should say from what I see of him that Peter Young is that man: and he is a person too of remarkably good information.

Keble himself wrote to Bishop Sumner, in his own words, 'to express grief and wonder, to say that he was sure there must have been some misunderstanding, and earnestly begging the Bishop to consider whether he could be of any use in clearing up matters, and offering to wait on him, if he wished it.' The Bishop replied, 'discouraging any notion of conferring on the matter with' Keble, 'and directed Young to read the 67th chapter of Hooker's Fifth Book, and also some portions of Hey's Lectures, after which, he says, he shall be ready at a fitting time to confer with him.' 'At present,' wrote Keble to Newman on July 19, 'the matter wears an alarming appearance. It was plain from the moment that Young went into the house that a dead set was to be made at him. Questions were put to him which were not put to others, the first being, What is your mode of interpreting the Thirty-nine Articles?'

Pusey of course sympathized warmly:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

MY DEAR KEBLE,

Kingstown, July 21, [1841].

I thank you very much for liking to pour out your troubles to me. I hope the Bishop's act is the result of immediate excitement, but it is sad: it is altogether strange: for the doctrine was one of the first put forward in the Tracts: the very term 'Real Presence' has been vindicated by the Bishop of Exeter; and it is strange that one Bishop should refuse to ordain, for holding what another Bishop shows to have been stated by our very Reformers, and himself vindicated. I thought too James had been a person of sound views. Altogether I cannot but hope that it is the result of excitement, arising out of misconception of Tract 90, and that it

¹ This apprehension was unhappily justified. Even so large-hearted a prelate as Bp. Blomfield illustrated its justice. 'The Bp. of London rejected two candidates (I think two) for asserting the doctrine of the Real Presence and the Real Sacrifice; but

on the second day they came fortified with quotations from our divines, and were admitted. The two parts are each sad in their way.' E. B. P. to Rev. J. Keble, Dec. 30, 1841. This circumstance seems to be referred to in Newman's 'Apologia,' p. 272.

will subside: the first question which you mention, 'How do you govern yourself in the construction of the Thirty-nine Articles?' seems to be a key to the rest.

I hope, as you say, good may come of it, and that the Bishop may be persuaded that he has acted severely: meanwhile, one cannot but think that there is misconception, and so you may, I trust, remain more at your ease under your Bishop. One must be very cautious about driving any of them to commit themselves to apparent opposition to Catholic truth: rather, I suppose one must take it for granted that they mean what our Church means, and so must ascribe any apparent condemnation of truth to misconception. So long as one is satisfied that one does hold what our Church holds, I do not think that any of us need concern himself with the personal views of his Bishop. Should e.g. any Bishop unhappily not hold the full doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, yet as our Church is clear on the point, it seems clear that no clergyman need be uncomfortable at holding a cure in his Diocese, because he himself teaches us what is the plain doctrine of the Church. And so as to the other Sacrament. I write this because I fear, from your 'Letter' to Mr. J. C[oleridge], that you might feel yourself uncomfortably placed, if your Bishop were to declare against anything which you feel bound to teach: but one sees every day and everywhere, that people are in reality objecting not to what they seem to object to, but to something else in their minds, something which they have confused with it, and which they cannot distinguish from it.

On Mr. Peter Young's arrival in Ireland he at once betook himself to Pusey. He had now received copies of his examination papers; the originals were retained by the Bishop's chaplain. After reading them, Pusey wrote both to Keble and Newman, to the effect that Mr. Young had in his first answer defined the *mode* of the Presence; that if he had left it undefined as a mystery (as Bishop Andrewes) it might have been accepted; and that there was no 'ground to fear that the doctrine of the Real Presence, external to the soul of the receiver, had been rejected by one of our Bishops.' But Newman, to Keble's great satisfaction, approved of Mr. Young's answers; and certainly the Bishop of Winchester did not say or do anything which could make it easier for Keble to accept Pusey's construction of the Bishop's act in rejecting Mr. Young.

'The Bishop,' wrote Keble to Newman on Sept. 11, 'has replied to Young, simply saying that the matter cannot be settled without

a personal interview; and when he comes to visit, which is on the 23rd, he will fix a time for Young to see him. If it was the merest formality in the world, instead of a grave point of doctrine, and a young clergyman's character at stake, it could hardly be treated more lightly.'

Meanwhile the clouds were gathering, and were soon to burst upon the devoted head of the author of Tract 90, and those who sympathized with or defended him. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol attacked the 'ingenuity' and 'sophistry' of the tract.

'The Bishop of Gloucester,' wrote Keble to Newman, 'though he abused the Tracts professedly without having read them, distinctly said he had no fault to find with either the doctrine or practice of his own clergy, who were said to approve them. I told Prevost I would willingly take this in exchange for what I expect on the 23rd.'

On the 23rd the Bishop of Winchester justified this apprehension only too completely. The theological matter of his Charge was such as might be expected from a Bishop of the Evangelical School; but it contained passages which, falling on the sensitive conscience of the author of 'The Christian Year,' led him seriously to contemplate the resignation of his living. To Pusey Keble wrote on St. Michael's Day:—

'The Charge sounded very severe, but I am told the Bishop did not really intend it to be so. We cannot judge till we see it in print; which will be, I imagine, in a week or ten days, and I will then submit to you whatever steps I think of taking. I fear it will be necessary to write to the Bishop; but you may depend on my not resigning, unless he actually tells me he wishes me to do so. And I will be as careful as I can to drive him up to no such point.'

To Newman he sketched out the matter of his proposed letter to the Bishop. He felt himself in a doubtful and distressing position, the Bishop having seemed publicly to censure certain views which he was known to entertain.

While these letters were passing, Pusey was at Addington. The Archbishop had sent for him in order to ascertain the state of things in Oxford. The interview was very reassuring, and Pusey's report of what passed, although evidently written with a view to reassure and encourage Newman, contains a welcome picture of the most learned

as well as of the most equitable of the Primates in the present century.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Gros[venor] Sq[uaire], Oct. 1, [1841].

The whole of the Archbishop's manner and all he has said has been very kind; he had nothing definite to propose, but wished to impress on us the importance of quiet, in order to regain the confidence which had been shaken. He spoke with the greatest value and respect for you as well as Keble, and for the services which had been done to the Church; he spoke very kindly of what he did not go along with as expressions in the 'Remains'; wished to put a favourable interpretation upon things, to read them in their best sense; hoped that all would be well with quiet, and that confidence would be restored. In a word, he wished us to let what had been done work, abstain from controversy as far as might be, and turn ourselves to such works as might be, as far as possible, of acknowledged utility, as practical works or, in my case, something on the interpretation of Holy Scripture, i.e. not professedly polemical. But he did not even say thus much until I asked him whether he wished to advise anything. It was only the language of general caution. He said what had most disquieted people since Tract 90 was the *British Critic* (and indeed the tone of those three articles does seem to have given deep offence, and some have ceased to take it in). He spoke very moderately about this, as he thought Jewel's opinions a fair subject of criticism, but thought that the writer had 'a spite against him'; the tone of the article on Dr. Faussett he regretted, and on that of Sir R. P. he said, that as far as people were to look to human means, the Conservatives were the persons to whom we must look, and so he thought it ill-timed.

His way of speaking was so confidential that I hardly know what to put on paper, but his real object is to befriend us; he acquits us of any wrong doctrine, really values the services which have been rendered, wants to be able to defend us to others, and for this end, recommends us 'In quietness and confidence shall be your strength.'

I expect to be in Oxford late to-morrow, but am not certain.

His visit to Addington had strengthened Pusey's old feeling of respect for and confidence in the Primate, and on his return he determined to make an effort to relieve Keble from the position in which he was placed by the action of the Bishop of Winchester towards Mr. Peter Young. A letter in which he begged the Primate to appeal to the Bishop of Winchester, produced the subjoined kind but disappointing reply.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR SIR,

Addington, Oct. 11, 1841.

My absence from home must plead my apology for having so long postponed my acknowledgment of your letter of October 3rd, for though you obligingly say that you do not wish for an answer, I should feel very uncomfortable if it could be supposed that I consider any communication from you as not entitled to notice.

On the subject, however, to which your letter relates, I am afraid that interference on my part could do no good. Mr. Keble, as Vicar of Hursley, is amenable for his teaching and practice to his Diocesan, and here I have no right to interfere. He will, of course, endeavour to satisfy his Bishop in all things, will defer to authority as far as his sense of duty will permit, and will not think of retiring from his post without extreme necessity. I should indeed be sorry if any feeling should lead him to take a step which must tend much to his personal discomfort, and which might be the prelude of dissensions most injurious to the character of the Church, and the interests of our holy religion.

In another respect Mr. Keble is to be considered as a divine holding certain opinions which are viewed with suspicion by many members of our Church, whose judgment derives importance as well from their station as from their learning and piety, but which Mr. Keble is persuaded are consistent with truth. Now if in regard to these points the Bishop conceives Mr. K. to be in error, and Mr. K. cannot renounce them with a safe conscience, I do not see how my interposition could produce a satisfactory result. Expression of personal respect, or recognition of services, accompanied with disapprobation of what by the Bishop might be deemed reprehensible, would not answer the purposes which you have in view; and this is the utmost which I could reasonably ask, or could hope to obtain, either from the Bishop of Winchester, or from any other Bishop.

I remain, my dear Sir,

With sincere esteem and regard,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

Rev. Dr. Pusey.

W. CANTUAR.

Harrison saw the Archbishop after the interview with Pusey, and wrote to Pusey suggesting that he should write a letter to the Archbishop, with a view to placing before the Episcopal Bench the grounds on which a more favourable judgment of the Oxford Tracts might be formed.

‘Oct. 2, 1841.

‘A good opening is just now afforded by the publication of their Episcopal charges, for a respectful and temperate *ἀπολογία*, in which,

without entering into minute discussion, or refined distinctions, you might show cause why you should not be deprived of that degree of liberty which, within the pale of our formularies, has always been allowed.'

This advice did bear fruit, at a later period, in Pusey's 'Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.' But, for the present, Pusey hesitated to take it, except at the express injunction of the Archbishop.

Harrison again pressed his point, but with no immediate result. If Pusey would not take his advice, the Bishops would go on warning their clergy and people against the Tractarians. But had Pusey taken it he would have been too late. The Bishops were rapidly taking their line. Before the end of 1841, Sumner of Chester, Bowstead of Lichfield, and Maltby of Durham—Pusey's old tutor—followed the lead of the Bishop of Winchester. Longley of Ripon recognized the services which the Tractarians had rendered in recovering true belief about the Church and the Sacraments; but he, too, had a word of condemnation for Tract 90. During the following year not only Copleston of Llandaff, Pepys of Worcester, Musgrave of Hereford, Thirlwall of St. David's¹, but also Blomfield of London, Denison of Salisbury, and even Bishop Bagot of Oxford, joined, with very varying degrees of decision, in the chorus of condemnation, which had so much more than anything else to do with precipitating the catastrophe of 1845. Referring to these events in a conversation nearly forty years later, Pusey said:—

'What might not the movement have been if the Bishops would have understood us! I remember Newman saying to me at Littlemore, "Oh, Pusey! we have leant on the Bishops, and they have broken down under us!" It was too late then to say anything: he was already leaving us. But I thought to myself, "At least I never leant on the Bishops: I leant on the Church of England."'

This expression is a key to a feature of Pusey's mind which partly explains the divergence of his later career from that of his illustrious fellow-worker. They were agreed as

¹ His objections were directed against details, rather than principles.

to the necessity of obedience; but in Newman's mind a single and present authority took the place which Pusey assigned to a more remote and complex, but at the same time more really authoritative guide. Pusey was not indifferent to the language of living Bishops; but he could not think such language the only and final means of ascertaining the sense and mind of the Church. Had he been a Roman Catholic he would have leant on Councils rather than on Popes; in the Church of England he leant on her collective voice in her formularies rather than on particular and contradictory interpretations of them by some of her rulers. When Keble, in his distress at the letters and Charge of the Bishop of Winchester, was thinking of resigning his pastoral cure at Hursley, Pusey stated this principle with great explicitness.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

MY DEAR KEBLE,

Oxford, Feb. 14, 1842.

You must not think me to be giving you an opinion, though I was startled by your expression: I have never been really under a Bishop, for although the Bishop has a throne in the cathedral, he is never there, except at an Ordination, dines with the Chapter as a guest, never visits, does not regard himself any how as our head. So that it has rather been fancying myself under a Bishop, than being under one. And so one is unfitted to give an opinion to one who is. My feeling is that I should be uncomfortable under such a Charge, but more for the Bishop's sake than my own. Such being my present feelings, I cannot feel how they would be changed by his being *my* Bishop, except that I should be more pained about it: we know that we are right, he wrong; and therefore I fancy I should be rather bent on seeing how to excuse him, than feel myself implicated. A Presbyter would not have had to resign under an Arian Bishop or Hoadley. In whatever degree he is really speaking against you, he is speaking against the truth, and therefore I should not think that I had any responsibility. It is every one's duty to maintain Catholic truth, even if unhappily opposed by a Bishop. . . .

Your very affectionate,

E. B. P.

But the Movement was undoubtedly, among other things, a reassertion of Episcopal authority. The early Tracts had

insisted on the deference claimed for Bishops in the Ignatian Epistles; and the moral passion for an unreserved obedience to a living ruler went hand in hand with the kindred enthusiasms for a definite creed and a life of genuine self-sacrifice. To balance one principle by another is not given to men of all temperaments; and it is rarely possible in days of youth and inexperience. The Bishops may or may not have been alive to the higher value which was assigned to their words now that Divine authority had been more fully asserted on behalf of their office; but their language was unhappily calculated to aggravate the difficulties of the situation by encouraging Latitudinarian or Puritan attacks on the Oxford writers, and by producing in the minds of younger men widespread distrust of the Church which the Bishops represented. No one had better opportunities than Pusey of observing these disastrous results, and he describes them in his published Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1842, as follows:—

‘The Bishops’ Charges have been made the occasion of attacks, too often, alas! from the pulpit, and that in language little fitted for the sanctuary of God, where our Lord is “in the midst” of us. Persons who hate the principles of the Church for their strictness, or for subjecting the individual will, who, with the condemnation of what they hate, mix up ribaldry and profaneness, have still been glad to carry on their unholy warfare under the banner of our Bishops. Those severed from the Church and wishing her destruction, still plead the authority of our Bishops. Thoughtful sermons on sacred things have been noted down and blasphemously commented upon and ridiculed. It is inconceivable what a flood of profaneness has been, in the last few months, poured out upon our unhappy land under the plea of speaking against what such persons have ventured to call “heresy.” And all this, through (one must say) blasphemous writing in the worst part of the periodical press, has reached every corner of our land; they who cannot read, hear; they who understand not what they read, still partake of the general agitation; the repose of our once peaceful villages is broken in upon; the most stable part of our population unsettled; the less thoughtful seem to look forwards to some evil which is to come upon them unawares; “we are all,” it seems, (to use their own language,) “to become Papists”; and so they are prepared to desert our Church when occasion offers; others are taught to mistrust the ministers who have been labouring faithfully among

them for years: if former negligences are anywhere repaired, the negligent have the popular cry ready for their plea; the serious and earnest-minded stand aghast, looking in sorrowful perplexity, what all this can mean. Until of late, men of more thoughtful minds were the more stirred to enter into Holy Orders, because our gracious Master Himself seemed to be "hiring labourers into His Vineyard," and "giving each his work"; now, some such even shrink back, doubting, and in dismay what our Bishops may do. What wonder, if some are faint-hearted whether our Lord be in the vessel, which is not only so tempest-tost, but whose very shipmen and pilots are so disunited, how or whither to guide her, "neither sun nor stars appearing"¹?

The effects of these Charges soon became apparent.

'At Bristol,' wrote Pusey to Harrison on November 9, 'shortly after I had preached there for the S. P. G., a clergyman preached against the "hell-born heresy of Puseyism": the same person omits in the week-day parts of the lessons, yet we are the only persons censured.'

On November 17th Pusey writes again to Harrison:—

'Mr. Close the other day thanked God in his pulpit that the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol had condemned us as preaching another Gospel; and though he (the Bishop) did not mean it, his words bear it out.'

'In another great city the people were instructed to look upon the teaching of a portion of the ministers of their Church as the teaching of Satan. Would that this were an insulated case²!'

Pusey saw only too clearly whither all this might lead, and, read in the light of much that has followed, the language of his Letter to the Archbishop has an almost prophetic character:—

'If this goes on, my Lord, where is it to end? If our own Bishops and others encouraged by them say to us—sore as it is to repeat, they are their own words—"Get thee hence, Satan,"—while those of the Roman Communion pray for us, and invite us, is it not sorely adding to the temptations, I say not of ourselves, but of younger men? The young are guided by their sympathies more than by their convictions; our position is altogether an unnatural one; it was never meant, nor did he who first originated the idea of our Tracts, contemplate, that we should stand thus; we never wished to be leaders; he who has been forced into that unenviable eminence loved

¹ 'Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,' pp. 114-116, ed. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

retirement and obscurity; we wished, as I said, to rouse, at a critical moment, the sense of our Church to the value of a part of her deposit which she was neglecting; our first Tracts were the short abrupt addresses of persons who, when the enemy was upon them, seize the first weapon which comes to hand and discharge it; our more elaborate ones grew under our hands and became such almost without our own will; we formed no system; we did nothing to gather people round ourselves; we besought others (though in vain) to preach in this place on the same doctrines, that those doctrines might not be identified with us; we wished to guide people away from ourselves, and pointed them on, and have been essaying to lead them, to the Ancient Church, in connexion with our own; our publications of the Fathers which had the sanction of your Grace and other of your Brethren, had this as its main object, to present the fullness of the Ancient system, in faith and life, apart from modern statements and modern controversies; we forewent much which any of us might have desired to do, in order that the Church might be listened to, not ourselves; in whatever degree we have been made a party, it has been the act of others, not our own; we are held together not by party ties but by our common faith, and our common object of restoring our Church.

‘We wish to be merged in our Church, to be nothing but what is of all the highest, ministers and servants of our God in her, “repairers of the breach, restorers of paths to dwell in.” But if we are thus singled out from the rest of our Lord’s flock, as diseased and tainted sheep, who must be kept separate from the rest, lest we corrupt them; if a mark is thus set upon us and we are disowned, things cannot abide thus. For us, who are elder, it might be easy to retire from the weary strife, if it should be ever necessary, into lay communion, or seek some other branch of our Church, which would receive us; but for the young, whose feelings are not bound up with their Church by the habits and mercies of many years, and to whom labouring in her service is not become a second nature, an element in our existence, their sympathies will have vent, and, if they find themselves regarded as outcasts from their Church—to a Church they must belong, and they will seek Rome.

‘Among those, in whose minds serious misgivings have been raised, are not merely what would be ordinarily called “young men”; these are, one may say, some of the flower of the English Church; persons whose sense of dutifulness binds them to her, who would, to use the language of one of them, “feel it to be of course their duty to abide in her as long as they could.” What we fear is not generally a momentary ebullition, but rather lest the thought of seceding from our Church should gradually become familiar to people’s minds, and a series of shocks loosen their hold

until at last they drop off, almost of themselves, from some cause which in itself seems wholly inadequate, because their grasp had gradually been relaxed before. What we fear is lest a deep despondency about ourselves and our Church come over people's minds, and they abandon her, as thinking her case hopeless; or lest individuals who are removed from the sobering influence of this ancient home of the Church, should become fretted and impatient at these unsympathizing condemnations, and the continued harassing of the unseemly strife now carried on under the shelter of your Lordships' names, and losing patience should lose also the guidance vouchsafed—to the patient ¹.

¹ 'Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,' pp. 71-75, ed. 3.

CHAPTER XXVII.

VISIT TO IRELAND—THE JERUSALEM BISHOPRIC—THE
POETRY PROFESSORSHIP—FRIENDLY REMONSTRANCES.

1841-1842.

IN the eventful summer of 1841, Pusey spent July and August in Ireland. He had intended to make this visit in the previous year, partly as change of air for his children, but chiefly to see the working of the Roman Catholic sisterhoods there, with a view to establishing 'an order of deaconesses' in the English Church.

Circumstances compelled him to postpone this plan in 1840 in consequence of his son's state of health; meanwhile they gave him additional reasons for making it. He was particularly anxious to meet Dr. Todd, of Trinity College, Dublin, one of the leading Churchmen in Ireland. He also desired an opportunity of observing the working of the Roman Catholic Church in a country where it could control the majority of the population. It does not seem to have occurred to him that the troubles consequent upon Tract 90 might not be diminished by his visit at such a moment. Pusey wrote in May 1841 to Dr. Todd to apprise him of his intention, and received a warm welcome in reply.

REV. DR. TODD TO E. B. P.

Trin. Coll. (Dublin), May 10, 1841.

I am rejoiced to find that there is a chance of seeing you here this summer. I hope we shall be able to get you to preach once or twice in Dublin, were it only to convince people that you do not wear a Pope's tiara or a Cardinal's hat. . . .

I am very glad that you are writing on Tract 90. That the view it gives of our Articles is substantially true I have not the least doubt,

and I think it most important that it should be calmly put forward for the sake of those who will candidly consider the question.

Would it be at all important for your views to examine the popular books of instruction which the Romanists put into the hands of the people here? If so, I will be thankful to be employed in procuring these tracts and popular books for you. It may be well for you to know that many Churchmen here object to Tract 90, supposing it to be a *dishonest* attempt to strain the Articles; and it is the more important to keep this in view, because the objection is urged by those who on other very important points are with you. Do you know Barnes' 'Catholico-Romano-Pacificus'? It was reprinted in Brown's 'Fasciculus,' and a curious account of the author will be found in Wood's 'Athenae.' It is curious as showing how the Church of Rome treats those who endeavour to promote peace between us, and the work itself is full of learning.

In view of their old relations to each other, and from respect for his office, Pusey wrote to Archbishop Whately to ascertain whether he had any objection to Dr. Todd's proposal that he should preach in Dublin. Whately's reply is a singular illustration of the intolerance of professed Liberalism. The 'dear Pusey' of three years before has now been exchanged for the stiff 'My dear Sir,' as marking the distance at which recent controversy had placed Pusey in the eyes of his correspondent¹:—

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR SIR,

Brighton, June 26, 1841.

If you should be called on, upon any sudden emergency, to preach during your residence in Ireland, you have my full permission to do so. I feel sure you have too much good taste and discretion to introduce controversial matter into sermons, in a country already but too much distracted with controversies of its own, in addition to those that are common to it with England.

But unless any such extraordinary occasion should arise, I think it better that you should not preach, notwithstanding the caution with which no doubt your sermons would be framed.

Just now there is, as you are well aware, a most vehement excitement going on, in reference to a certain set of opinions with which

¹ Whately used to tell a humorous story of an interview of his with Pusey at Brighton in 1841. According to this, his reason for not allowing Pusey to preach in his diocese was a fear

that he would introduce 'novelties.' The patron of Blanco White was naturally sensitive. 'Life of Archbishop Whately,' p. 215.

your name is mixed up ; opinions which many persons regard as so 'contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England,' that the maintainers of them ought not to be allowed to remain in the Church.

Now on this question I have not as yet been called on to give any public decision, but if you were understood to be preaching in my diocese with my sanction, many would understand that I *had* thus given a decision, even though you should not touch on the question ; and at any rate, you would probably be made more a *lion*, and give rise to more rumours, than would be counterbalanced by any advantage on the other side.

You will not, I trust, consider me as pronouncing a censure in saying this, for it is quite contrary to my practice to condemn any one *unheard*, and I have not as yet had time to look into the pamphlet you were so good as to send me t'other day.

Believe me to be,

Yours very truly,

RD. DUBLIN.

After this letter Pusey of course decided not to preach in any circumstances. He went by sea from Bristol on July 2, and soon settled in lodgings at Sandy Cove, Kingstown. His early impressions of Romanism in Ireland were not very encouraging.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Kingstown, July 15, 1841.

I am not in the way to gain much information about Ireland. Todd is gone ; Crosthwaite, for a time ; and though I go to and fro to Dublin, the railroad is so noisy, and I so little understand drawing-out, that I can get little or nothing. There is also nothing in Romanism to strike the eyes, except its miserable slavery to politics and sad degradation, which you know more vividly than I. Right-minded people here are desponding about our own Church's taking the position she should ; and what one sees of Romanism dispirits one about it ; it seems as though devotion to the Blessed Virgin were to become the characteristic of Romanism, and the more Catholic truth is distinctly recognized among us, the more obstinately do they hold to what is distinctive. One cannot but fear that they hold to it, not for its own sake, but as a means of keeping the poor people and as enlisting human affections. However, God, Who is having mercy on us, may burst their bonds too.

Pusey soon became painfully aware that he was the subject of much silly gossip during his stay in Ireland, and that there were difficulties in his case from which an

ordinary visitor, anxious to become acquainted with the characteristic institutions of the country, would be free.

Every one who knows Ireland will understand that Pusey had also many offers of hospitality from its warm-hearted people. Dr. Todd, who had betaken himself to a country retreat at Kilkee in county Clare, was especially anxious to induce Pusey to 'see the Irish people in their original state, unsophisticated by any admixture with English or Protestantism.' 'It would give you,' he added, 'more insight into the real relative state of Romanism and the Church in Ireland than you could learn from books in a twelvemonth.' Pusey, however, declined every proposal that was not mainly or only religious in its interest. 'It seems,' he wrote to Keble, 'as though visiting was not meant for me.' He found the Roman Catholics sometimes embarrassingly attentive:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Aug. 9, 1841.

'The Roman Catholics have been so civil I have not known what to make of it. I have had to fight off being introduced to the one and the other, and they shake hands so cordially, and are so glad to see one! e.g.—a Roman Catholic Bishop of British Guiana.'

Among others he met Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. He describes the interview in the same letter to Newman:—

'... Dr. M. said that you said that "we agreed in principles, differed in practice." I could not go that length myself, thinking things declared *de fide* in the Council of Trent which I could not assent to, as the necessity of confession to man as essential to the power of the keys, Transubstantiation, as there defined (i.e. I do not see how to explain their words, though I feel that they continually meant to oppose error, not truth). I hope I did not commit you by saying nothing. He was evidently apologetic, as they all are; spoke of the Scapular (which I had quoted) as of no authority: said I was "justly indignant at many of the expressions in the 'Glories of Mary,' that he did not know who the priest was who translated it." I said something (as you do) that there ought to be an authoritative declaration against such things, that until there was a safeguard against them, it would be a breach of duty in the English Church towards her children to risk their being exposed to them. Dr. M.: "It will be, when overtures are made, to

consider what can be conceded" (or words to that effect, implying that the Church of England was to go as far as it could, and then the Church of Rome was to concede what it could, but that in the meanwhile they would do nothing). I said, "This is not our concern, but our Bishops'." Dr. M.: "You are quite right there."

Again, later:—

'I took an opportunity of telling Dr. Murray that you spoke of [our] differing from [them] in facts, not in practice only, which he received without any surprise. . . . I have been very busy seeing female *μοναί*¹, and hope I understand something of them; male there are none, on any real monastic principle.'

Pusey saw also all that he could of the clergy of the Irish Church, not excepting those who were least in sympathy with Church principles. 'I remember,' he said several years after, 'one Evangelical clergyman in Ireland on whom I was calling saying to me rather triumphantly, "I will show you *my* Fathers." On which he pointed to his bookcase, with three rather long shelves, filled with the Nonconformist divines to the exclusion of everything else. I said, "If these are your Fathers, you must not accuse us of not being true to the Church of England."'

He started from Dublin on August 31, and leaving Philip at Brighton on Sept. 1, returned to Oxford. It will be remembered that during the whole of his visit to Ireland he had been engaged in that most delicate and painful correspondence with Newman about his relations with Ward and Oakeley. His mother stayed with him at Christ Church immediately on his arrival. 'Edward,' she wrote, 'appears to be well, but more grave and out of spirits. He spent Sunday and part of Saturday at Garsington, having gone to preach for William [who was at that time curate there]; and I saw him in tears on Sunday.' He was beginning in fact to be affected by that growing divergence from Newman of which he was himself perhaps hardly conscious, yet which gave an increasing loneliness to his already saddened life.

¹ The impression made on their Roman Catholic inmates by his 'respectful demeanour and recollected

manner' is described in the 'Life of Mrs. Mary Aikenhead,' Dublin, 1879, p. 257.

No sooner had he returned home to Oxford than a controversy arose on the subject of his proceedings during his visit to Ireland. That visit provoked some gentle and some violent remonstrances from the ultra-Protestant clergy; but, it is right to add, not from them alone. Certainly they were founded on gossip that was itself baseless, but they considerably increased the strain of the situation in England. The only matter worth quoting with regard to it is a passage from a letter to Dr. Todd, in which Pusey sums up the impression which Irish Roman Catholicism had made upon him.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. TODD.

Christ Church, Oxford, Sept. 7, 1841.

You may know, perhaps, that we have said that 'an union with Rome (i. e. as she now is) is impossible.' It is right to add, that while I acknowledge the great personal kindness with which my inquiries were answered at the several institutions I visited, and deeply respect individuals in them, the result of what I saw of the opinions of Romanists in Ireland was a painful conviction that Rome had at present no disposition to amend those things in her which make continued separation a duty. We must all long for the unity which our Church prays for, and if we earnestly pray for it, God may again restore a visible unity to His Church in truth and holiness; but until God gives to Rome grace to lay aside her corruptions, and to us to act up to the principles and standard of our Church, it cannot be without a sacrifice of duty—we might even each become worse by an union. If we each grow in holiness, the Spirit of Christ, Which alone can give real unity, will pervade the Church so as to knit it into one; and for this we must long and labour.

Close upon the controversy respecting Pusey's Irish visit followed that which was excited by the proposed establishment of an Anglo-Prussian bishopric in Jerusalem. This proposal, as is well known, originated with the King of Prussia, Frederic William IV., who sent the Chevalier Bunsen to England in the summer of 1841, as a special envoy, to press it on the English Government and Church. The projected Bishop was to take charge of members of the English Church, as well as German Protestants and any others who might be willing to place themselves under his jurisdiction. On the other hand, he was to cultivate friendly

relations with the Orthodox Church, and to promote conversions among the Jews. On October 5, 1841, an Act of Parliament was passed to carry this proposal into effect; and it was agreed that the British and Prussian Crown should nominate alternately to the bishopric; that Prussia should supply half the endowment, and English subscribers the other half; and that the Bishop might ordain Germans who would subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles and the Confession of Augsburg.

A Bishop who should supply the means of grace to English residents in the Mediterranean had long been in contemplation; and at a meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops at Lambeth on Tuesday in Whitsun week of this year, it had been resolved, with the consent of Her Majesty's Government, to consecrate a Bishop of Valetta. Bunsen's visit to England extinguished this proposal. The useless and ambitious project which he came to advocate had much less to do with the spiritual interests of Englishmen in the Levant than with the realization of schemes very alien to the traditional policy of the Church of England since the Reformation as well as before it.

Opinion was divided about the merits of the scheme. It was natural that Puritans should welcome the slight cast on the Apostolic Ministry by co-operation with a non-episcopal community like the Prussian, and that Latitudinarians should rejoice in the prospect of an increasing indifference to doctrinal truth which would be promoted by an artificial fusion between Lutherans and members of the English Church. But the authority of Archbishop Howley and Bishop Blomfield was, for whatever reasons, on the side of the establishment of the bishopric, and the consequence was a division of opinion among High Churchmen. Dr. Hook was the most considerable of its supporters; Mr. Newman and Dr. Mill opposed it heartily and from the commencement: Pusey, as will appear, strangely failed at first to see what principles were involved, but eventually joined in condemning it.

His earlier impressions were no doubt due to the attractive

influence of Bunsen, his brother Philip's intimate friend. Bunsen, soon after reaching England, met Pusey at breakfast on July 1st at his brother's house, and the accomplished man of the world knew well how to present his proposal so as best to enlist Pusey's sympathies, or at least to disarm his opposition. 'I was led to imagine,' Pusey afterwards wrote, 'that there was already a Church of Jewish converts and of English at Jerusalem, and that the bishop was to be sent over primarily for their sakes¹.' He knew of course that the rule of antiquity allowed people who spoke different languages, although living together, each to enjoy the blessing of a bishop: and that one bishop might enter territory, within the normal jurisdiction of another, in order to convert heathen whom the bishop of the district had failed to win².

In justification of the alliance with the Prussian Protestants, Pusey was led to hope that 'they would be absorbed into our Church to which they had united themselves, and gradually imbibe her spirit and be Catholicized. I trusted to the Catholicity of our Church to win those who were brought within the sphere of her influence³.'

Mr. J. R. Hope, however, who was now in London, heard of Bunsen's enterprise, and at once wrote to Pusey.

J. R. HOPE, ESQ., TO E. B. P.

6 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn,

July 20, 1841.

I have heard to-day upon apparently good authority that Bunsen is actually endeavouring to make an arrangement by which the English and Prussian Crowns shall unite as the Protestant defenders of the Syrian Churches. My informant suggested that immediate steps should be taken to inform the public here of the origin and nature of the Prussian Evangelical Communion, and especially of the expulsion of the Lutherans which accompanied its formation. My own feelings run strongly against the Prussian system, which (though without much knowledge) I have come to consider an eclectic 'Staats-religion,' any union with which would tend to harm us not a little, both by association, and by the character which it would procure us among the R. C. abroad.

¹ 'Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,' ed. 3, p. 92.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³ *Ibid.*

Pusey replied as follows:—

‘ July 24, 1841.

‘ I trust that our alliance with Prussia, or rather that of the State, will bring them up towards us, not lower us to them. The present King of Prussia, you know probably, is in heart an Episcopalian. Altogether it seems a movement towards something better on the part of Prussia which I should not be inclined to oppose if I could (as far as I understand it).’

During his visit to Ireland, the subject does not appear to have forced itself on Pusey’s notice ; it is not referred to in his extant correspondence. When, however, at the end of September he visited Addington, he had much conversation on the subject with the Archbishop and Harrison. This conversation left him still well inclined to the general policy of the measure, but doubtful as to the capacities of the nominee to the new See for coping with the difficulties of the situation. Early in October, he writes to Harrison as follows:—

Christ Church, Oct. 3, 1841.

Will Mill see the new Bishop of Jerusalem before he goes? He probably knows nothing of our Councils and little of our theology ; he is learned in his own way, not in ours : he might then very easily make a mistake, as Bishop Heber did, in recognizing Mar Athanasius, and as the emissary of the S. P. C. K. was ready to do ; especially if, as Dr. Mill said, the Monophysites are very subtle disputants. But the fact of a Bishop, sent out by us, entering into communion with an heretical sect, might be more injurious than anything one could imagine : it is true that it would be his individual act ; but when we are sailing heavily, and people have to apply themselves, first to stop up one leak, then another, no one knows what the effect of one more leak may be. It must be no slight matter to restore communion which has been so long broken ; we may be sure that Satan will do all he can to hinder or mar it ; it must be brought about, one should think, with prayer and fasting, not as an easy thing to be wrought by man’s will. And therefore, though I look to any openings as cheering signs for the future, I am the more anxious that for the present there should be the utmost circumspection.

Ever my dear Harrison,

Your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Pusey’s sanguine estimate was not shared by some of those earlier allies of the Oxford Movement who had of late

held more or less aloof from Newman. It may suffice to name Mr. A. P. Perceval. The Bishops as a body could do little to reassure them, for the reason that they had not been consulted; the whole matter had been arranged with the Government by the Primate and the Bishop of London¹. The Archbishop, when explaining his action to Mr. Perceval, laid down the principle that 'in the present state of the Christian world we must consider communions rather than localities'—an argument which would carry the Archbishop further than in all probability he intended to go. He added, however:—

'Oct. 27, 1841.

'If the Bishop sent to Jerusalem invades the rights of the Greek prelates, requires obedience from their flocks, or seizes on their churches or possessions, as the Latins in different places are said to have done or attempted to do, that indeed would be a most culpable intrusion. But I cannot see that any such charge will attach to him if he confines his attention to the clergy and members of his own Church. I have not time to enter on questions of this nature. . . . With respect to this particular question, the course we have taken is the only one that is practicable; if we are not at liberty to act without the leave of the Patriarch, we must abandon the plan altogether. The Patriarch would never consent, and if he did, it would be on conditions to which we could never agree.'

Meanwhile Newman, and indeed Dr. Mill, took a much more unfavourable view of the subject. The point on which Newman felt strongly was the proposed alliance with the German Protestants: Lutheranism and Calvinism, he urged, had been condemned as heresies by the East as well as the West. Pusey's old relations with Germany still made him more hopeful of the future, if not more disposed to think well of the present condition of German Protestantism. The favourable opinion, however, which he had at first entertained about the proposed bishopric was shaken by his discovery that the congregation at Jerusalem, which was pleaded as a reason for establishing the bishopric, amounted to about four persons². Newman kept out of

¹ 'Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott, Esq,' i. 315.

² 'Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,' p. 93, 3rd ed.

Pusey's way at this time¹, and this will explain their communicating on the subject by letter, though they were both in Oxford, within a few hundred yards of each other. Thus it came to pass that Pusey wrote as follows to Newman on the day of Bishop Alexander's consecration:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Sunday, [Nov. 7, 1841].

Mill's strong language is saddening, but cheering too that there is such sympathy. Give him my best thanks. There is nothing now to be done, for Bishop Alexander was consecrated to-day—i. e. nothing but, as Dr. Mill writes, prayer. I have incapacitated myself for doing anything by assenting to Bunsen's plan, when he explained it to me, understanding certainly that there was a congregation of Jewish converts, and thinking that there was no reason that they should not have a Liturgy and Bishop of their own, as they do not understand Syriac. I did not see the objection to a Bishop of the Circumcision, as I should have thought it had been good for converts from them to keep the law. The movement among the Druses is very remarkable, if sincere. Might not such an application justify our Church, if the Orthodox Patriarch does not object, in sending out missionaries? It is something so out of the recent course of events for a nation to send to be taught Christianity.

I wrote a very strong note to Jelf, embodying all your strongest language as my own, which he forwarded to the Bishop of L[ondon]. Probably such language has not found its way to him before. I certainly could not, nor ought so to have written *to* him: he was displeased; said that I and my friends laboured under a nervous excitement which prevented our taking a sound view of any Church question (in allusion, I suppose, to the Colonial Bishopricks), that the clause I objected to (the independence of the Bishop) was copied from the Act for consecrating the American Bishops, that it was inserted with a view to Prussia, that in other cases the Bishop probably *would* take the oath to the Archbishop.

I wrote (on Thursday) a respectful answer, urging the danger and risk of any negotiations with the heretical sects, and of an heretical succession in Prussia. I have had no answer, but hope your language may not tell the less for that in the end.

I wish Mill himself could see Bishop A[lexander].

I do not object to Ward's use of the word Protestant, as far as I have read his article, which I like much; I only object to it when it seems

¹ Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq., Oriol, Nov. 14, 1841: '... I have kept out of his [Pusey's] way. He is always taking on himself the respon-

sibility of my furiousness or bitterness; and I want him as far as possible clear of this.'—'Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott,' i. 311.

convertible with Anglican, as it seems to me from the context in the passage I referred to, p. 477, 'New Poetry.' Lutheran, of course, would not do except on justification.

Beyond Newman were Ward and Oakeley, the latter of whom continued to write confidentially to Pusey. It is evident from his letters that Oakeley had already, unconsciously, accepted various ultramontane positions with regard to the Church, which were certainly unknown to Christian antiquity. But his letters show also how the unfortunate project of the Jerusalem bishopric was fostering unsettlement and disloyalty among English Churchmen—how much that was precious and irrecoverable was thrown away for the sake of an experiment.

REV. F. OAKELEY TO E. B. P.

74 Margaret Street, Nov. 16, 1841.

Thank you for your kind note. It is the *animus* of the Jerusalem measure from which I fear so much, rather than the Act itself, which I know admits of being more favourably represented. I would willingly hope and believe all, but when none of our Bishops lift up their voices in behalf of Catholic doctrine, and many even disclaim, and some even denounce it, I have no evidence whatever on the good side to set against the *prima facie* aspect of their measures; and I will add, the current and *uncontradicted* account of them.

I am obliged, then, to believe what has been put forward in print, and what is in general circulation, and what appearances seem too fully to justify. And that is this. That the King of Prussia, like his father, wishes to unite the Protestants of his kingdom, diffusing (materially among themselves) in one *national* Church, with a view to which a common Formulary has been agreed upon, in which even such approaches to Catholic doctrine as Lutheranism has retained, have been merged in vague generalities. (I am told, e.g., that the words used in delivering the Elements are not *doctrinal* but *historical*—*Christ said*, 'This is, &c.'). And the subscription which the Lutheran clergy make, whatever it be, is actually consistent with every form of religious and, I fear, irreligious opinion. Besides, the idea of a *national* Church in itself I cannot but regard as essentially uncatholic. The Catholic Church is not, as I believe, a collection of separate bodies forming an aggregate, of circles as in a river, touching one another, and forming a collection of circles, but *one* circle which has so entirely absorbed all others into itself that no trace of their independence remains. Now what the King of Prussia appears and is said to wish is to consolidate a Protestant National Church; and looking upon the Church of England as a sister Protestant body, with the advantage of

a better government, he comes to us to borrow our form of the government with the view of combining discordant elements, and securing external peace and union among his subjects. All this, I can quite conceive, in a good average Sovereign, and an amiable but not very high-minded and deep-thinking and far-seeing man.

As respects the East, the case, I imagine, is this. It is important for Prussia to engage England in a kind of Protestant league against Russia, who upholds the Greek Church, and France, who upholds the Roman. This would be a special political reason apart from ulterior views in Prussia itself. That there are reasons of this kind at the bottom of the plan, though they may not be the *only* reasons, I judge from the fact which has been stated as from authority in the organ of the Jews in London (I forget its name, but it was quoted in the *Record* a fortnight ago), that the negotiation about the Bishopric of Jerusalem was begun through Lord Palmerston, and first obtained *his* sanction. Newman also, I know, took this view of the scheme from the first. The King of Prussia is, I hear, an amiable man. He is also said to have made overtures to the Archbishop of Cologne, whose persecution for upholding Catholic principles is so unfavourable a note of the Prussian system generally. I find him therefore much praised in a Roman Catholic publication of 'liberal' principles. What this means I do not know. I wish I could think that it might be taken as a proof of his being, as you say, not anti-catholic. But I am not sure that, taken with the rest, one can honestly, though one would in charity, make much of it.

Did our Church strongly *uphold* Catholic principles as well in her existing administration as in her formularies, then I would hope good might come of anything she does, though even then I should have thought such proceedings as these had the appearance of doing evil that good might come; of making ourselves *κοινωνοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀμαρτημάτων* in the hope of edifying them; as when e. g. the Church of Rome allows marriages with Protestants in the idea of converting them; or indeed I have heard the same argument used by persons of a religious profession in this country, to justify marriages even with profligate husbands.

Erastianism is, at all events, so very like a form of Antichrist, and foreign Protestantism.

On the 7th of November Michael Solomon Alexander had been consecrated the first Anglo-Prussian Bishop of Jerusalem by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Rochester, and New Zealand. Mr. Gladstone, who had refused to be a trustee of the endowment of the See, was present. Immediately after the event the Archbishop received two protests, both of them documents of great significance. The Rev. William Palmer of Magdalen pleaded

against 'the admission of persons of the Lutheran persuasion to the communion of the new Bishop,' as well as against 'the erection of a bishopric within the Dioceses of the Oriental Churches.' He ended thus: 'I therefore most humbly and earnestly and with tears beseech your Grace to take this matter into your fatherly consideration, and to spare the people committed to your charge¹.' A more important protest was Newman's²; it turned exclusively on the recognition of Lutheranism and Calvinism which was implied in the arrangement. But it was all too late. Archbishop Howley took no notice of either communication; the fact was, as has been stated, that he and the Bishop of London had committed themselves to the Government in August and could not retire from their engagements. The Bishop of Oxford was obliged to repeat to Newman that, as he had not been consulted, he knew too little about the measure to be able to discuss it: 'I really know no more than what little I have accidentally heard or occasionally seen in the papers: I have had no communication from or with any one in authority, and the statements I have heard fall.'

Newman's protest was approved of by Pusey³ and Keble. The latter begged characteristically for 'a little expression of reverence to those whom you are censuring.' Pusey had now abandoned his earlier view of the subject. He had committed himself to Bunsen in terms which made it impossible for him to make an independent protest; but he reserved what he had to say for his Letter to the Primate, and this he could not write until the Parliamentary papers which bore on the foundation of the bishopric were published. He now knew more of Bunsen's real mind. Bunsen 'maintained that any father of a family might consecrate the Eucharist'—an opinion which shows the kind of value he would have attached to Episcopal ordination. In his view the proposed bishopric was 'the

¹ Rev. W. Palmer to Archbishop of Canterbury, Nov. 1841.

² See 'Apologia,' pp. 249-252.

³ J. H. N. in 'Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott,' i. 311.

foundation of a new body which was to supplant eventually all the other portions of the Church ¹’

Mr. Gladstone had pointed out the real object of the bishopric, as described in an article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. It was not to help the Jews or Druses, or the souls of English or German sojourners or emigrants; nor was it for the purpose of establishing friendly communications with the Eastern Church. It was to inaugurate ‘an experimental or fancy Church, in which the Church of this country takes the opportunity of declaring its distinctive institutions to be of secondary importance, and joins hands, not even with the Lutheran, but with the Evangelical system, which I imagine in Germany is a term of lower import ².’

Pusey's later and final opinion is in harmony with this.

‘The whole,’ he writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury, ‘is an experiment, and that in so serious a thing as the Christian Church. The mingled Church to be formed under our Bishop, of Lutherans and Jewish converts, has been truly, though painfully, designated an “experimental Church.” And what an experiment! to bring together persons, one knows not whom, sound or unsound, pious or worldly, bound together by no associations, accustomed to no obedience, who on the very Lord's Day have practically but one service, and scarcely any through the year besides, never kneel in the public worship of God, sitting when they sing their hymns, standing when they receive the Holy Eucharist,—under Pastors, *consenting* to receive Episcopal ordination, but not, as themselves contend, valuing it—if this may even be without profanation,—and make ourselves responsible for them, and exhibit these as specimens of the English Church to the Greek Communion, which has just heard again of us, and is beginning to value us.’

To this he adds:—

‘Again, still to think only of its effects externally to ourselves, we should have no safeguard that the Bishop so sent, or congregations so formed, shall not proselytize or consent to receive proselytes from the Orthodox Communion. It is not many years, I think, since a report of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews published at the other University spoke of the ill-success in its proposed object, but seemed to think the opportunity of preaching the Gospel to the Greeks no

¹ ‘Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott,’ i. p. 292.

² *Ibid.*, p. 322. Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to J. R. Hope-Scott, Esq.

small compensation. The conversion of Jew, Turk, and Orthodox Greek seemed to them a like object. I know not whether the Church Missionary Society, which your Grace has now sanctioned, has yet withdrawn its missionaries from the same Church, which it openly acknowledged were opposed by the spiritual authorities, but boasted that they were gladly heard by the people. Similar language has been unhappily and is heard elsewhere. But any attempts at "conversion" or connivance in persons forsaking the Orthodox Communion wherein they were baptized, besides encouraging sin, must immeasurably delay the prospect of union with that communion. We ourselves know the bitterness of losing our own children, which a rival communion is stealing from us. Are we to think the sorrows of another Mother, when bereaved, less than our own? We should definitely fix our own principles. Our Bishop cannot at once promote union and schism; we cannot at once conciliate the parent, and rob her of her children; be a friend and an enemy. We must either rigidly prescribe to ourselves our own bounds and remain within them, or give up the opening prospect of ultimate union. We cannot treat the Orthodox Greek Church at once as orthodox and heterodox; orthodox in that we think union justifiable, heterodox since heresy alone can justify secession¹.

Pusey dwells on the danger of any step which would tend to identify us with 'the Lutheran body.' He points out, in the indignant language of Tholuck, how Rationalism had preyed upon its very vitals. There had been an improvement, but no such improvement as to warrant the gift of Episcopacy to the German Protestants. Scotland was an example of the mistake of offering the Episcopate to a people which had no longing for it.

'There is at present, even in the sounder part of the Lutheran-Calvinist body, not a vestige, among its writers, of the first condition of a sound restoration,—humility; there is rather an arrogant exaltation of their own body, as the Mother of all in the West separate from Rome; an assumed superiority to our Church, not an acknowledgement of their own defects; the few who look for Episcopacy seem to desire it, in order to organize their imperfections, not to correct them; the most religious of their theological organs declare against the Catholic view of it; they distinctly tell us that it is looked upon not as anything spiritual, but as an outward mechanism; they tell us that the people desire it not; they refute the notion (and with good ground) that any changes recently proposed among themselves are any symptoms of such longing; there has been the wish to extend Presbyterian ordination, where now there is none; no desire of Episcopal. It is

¹ 'Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,' pp. 93-96; 3rd ed.

for your Grace and your Grace's brethren to consider how, in such a state of mind, you could, without risk of profanation, entrust a gift of the Holy Ghost, which is undesired, set at nought, repudiated, by those who are to receive it¹.

And contrasting the Archbishop's sanguine hope of introducing the Episcopate into Protestant Germany with the unwelcome reality, Pusey continues:—

'Your Grace expresses a hope that this Bishopric "may lead the way to an essential unity of discipline as well as doctrine between our own Church and the less perfectly constituted of the Protestant Churches of Europe," i. e. that they will be one Church, through the absorption of the Lutherans into our Church, and the reception, on their part, of all those things for lack of which they are at present "imperfect." Their view is wholly different; they look to this same event, only as an aggrandizement of their own body, as "securing to the Evangelical Church of the German nation,"—not as "less perfectly constituted" but—"as² the Mother of all Evangelical Confessions, rights commensurate to its greatness, beside the Latin and Greek Churches"; they look to it as an occasion for developing the German Evangelical Church, according to "*the Confession*³, and with *the use of the liturgy*, of that Church"; and not only so, but they look upon the diversities of Christian worship, as immutable, inalienable; such diversities, among Protestant bodies, belong to the very principle of unity, and are looked upon as upheld by our Blessed Lord Himself⁴.

Pusey's natural temperament, and his firm trust in God's providential care of the English Church, always disposed him to make the best he could of a mistake or a disaster. So, putting the alliance with the Prussian Protestants out of view, he dwells with satisfaction, though not unalloyed by anxiety, on 'the consecration of a Bishop to represent our ancient British Church in the city of the Holy Sepulchre.' 'We may look,' he even writes, 'with comfort and hope to an act which again gives us an interest and a portion in the Holy Sepulchre, and unites around it representatives of the three branches of the Church Catholic⁵.' Newman could only pray, 'May that measure utterly fail and come to nought, and be as though it had

¹ 'Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,' p. 104; 3rd ed.

² 'Prussian State-paper to all the Royal Governments,' reprinted and translated by Mr. Hope, p. 77.

³ 'Prussian State-paper to all Royal Consistories,' by Mr. Hope, p. 76.

⁴ 'Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,' p. 108; 3rd ed.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 111.

never been.' Here again they were diverging from each other without any suspicion of it, at any rate on Pusey's side; now, as in several recent discussions, but more distinctly, the divergence of sympathies was becoming apparent.

While the Jerusalem bishopric was thus agitating men's minds at Oxford and in the country, another controversy was proceeding with reference to an appointment nearer home. The Poetry Professorship at Oxford had become vacant by the termination of Keble's statutable period of office. 'Keble,' wrote Mr. J. Mozley on Oct. 30, 1841, 'has delivered his last lecture, which he wound up with a strong protest in favour of the connexion of religion and poetry. People have begun some time to think of the next Professor¹.' So true was this that Pusey was already corresponding about it in September, and he was by no means first in the field.

The closing words of Keble's last lecture from his chair would of themselves have suggested the candidature of the Rev. Isaac Williams, and, accordingly, his name was put forward by the President and Fellows of Trinity College with every expectation that he would be elected. His qualifications for the chair were undoubted. So unbiassed an authority as Mr. J. A. Froude has told us that 'though Williams' thoughts ran almost entirely in theological channels, they rose out of the soil of his own mind, pure and sparkling as the water from a mountain spring'; and that he was a poet who 'now and then could rise into airy sweeps of really high imagination.' The well-known lines in the 'Baptistery'² which describe the relation between the actions of men in this life and the eternity which lies before them, by the image of the cataract which freezes as it falls, are pronounced by Mr. Froude to be grander than the finest of Keble's, or even of Wordsworth's³. It might have been anticipated that so accomplished a resident would command general support; and at almost any other time this would,

¹ 'Letters of J. B. Mozley,' p. 123.

² 'Baptistery,' *Image* vii.

³ Froude, 'Short Studies on Great Subjects,' iv. 181, 182.

in all probability, have been the case. But the claims of poetry were not the uppermost consideration in men's minds at Oxford in the autumn of 1841.

A second candidate for the vacant chair was proposed, in the person of the Rev. James Garbett of Brasenose College. Mr. Garbett was a well-read man, especially in the poetry of most ages and countries, and he had 'a singular power of retaining and combining all that he had ever read, and of developing his own systematized views to the apprehension of others.' If Williams was put forward by his friends as a poet, Garbett might claim to be a possible critic of poetry.

But Mr. Garbett's name had not been in the first instance suggested by any purely literary anxiety to provide for the discharge of the duties of the Poetry chair. Even in September Pusey wrote to Hook:—

' Christ Church, Sept. 14, 1841.

' I am sorry to say that the election to the Poetry Professorship is to be made a party question against Williams. People are canvassing against him, because he is a writer in the Tracts. And so they have set up a person, without any claim, . . . against the author of "The Cathedral," &c.,—a person of great poetic talent, deep thought, and humble piety. Will you interest whom you can in our behalf, and get them to interest others?'

There is much to be said for the statement that the opposition to Williams was in fact a result of the controversy about Tract 90. A large party among the Heads of Houses had only refrained from challenging the verdict of Convocation because they could not trust it to condemn the tract. Now, however, an opportunity presented itself of condemning Tractarianism by a side wind. If a scholar and poet of Mr. Williams' eminence could be pronounced unfit to be a Professor, on the ground of his Tractarianism, the University would be committed, not in terms, but implicitly, to the desired conclusion.

The first document which introduced considerations of theological party into the contest emanated from Mr. Williams' opponents.

MY DEAR —

— College, Nov. 16, 1841.

The Professorship of Poetry will become vacant next month, and I take the liberty of requesting your vote in Convocation for the Rev. J. Garbett, M.A., late Fellow of B.N.C., a First Classman, Public Examiner 1829, 1831, Bampton Lecturer elect for 1842.

There is another candidate, the Rev. I. Williams, Trin. Coll., a writer in the 'Tracts for the Times,' and more particularly the author of the well-known tract on 'Reserve in Religious Teaching.'

The election of Mr. Williams in Mr. Keble's room would undoubtedly be represented as a decision of Convocation in favour of his party; and the resident members of our college are unanimous in thinking that this would be a serious evil, as well as highly discreditable to the University. I hope that you will concur with us in that opinion.

An answer at your earliest convenience would greatly oblige, &c.

The importance of this document is that it disposes of an assertion, too often repeated, that Pusey 'made the first open party move in this contest¹.' The formal circular announcing Mr. Garbett's candidature was far more guarded, and Pusey replied to it in a public letter which was perhaps the most important document produced by the controversy. Before printing his letter he submitted a rough draft to Newman, who advised him to omit remarks which it originally contained on Williams' tracts and his contributions to the 'Lyra Apostolica':—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[Nov. 1841.]

Thank you for your remarks. I will gladly drop about the Lyra and the Tracts, though it is a specimen of Williams' quieting, filial character. As for the 'puff' I do not like it myself; one feels, 'What am I to praise Williams?' also it seems *βάνανσος* to print it; I *have* written it, and found it tell, which made me put it down; and when I told Jelf of his Church character, he said it furnished him with a *τόπος* which would be of great value. People know neither his works nor him, in any adequate degree; Jelf e.g. asked me whether his views were the same as Ward's. This being so, will you be so good as to look at it once more, and see if you can mend it, or whether you would altogether drop it? I do not like giving you this trouble, but it is a joint matter. I do not mind myself; I would rather not have praised Williams so, but I thought it best to put aside any such feeling, that people might know what they were doing in opposing or rejecting Williams.

¹ So Mr. J. R. Hope to Newman: cf. 'Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott,' i. 317.

After adopting his censor's advice, Pusey, without further delay, sent out the subjoined letter to members of Convocation:—

SIR,

Christ Church, Nov. 17, 1841.

Understanding that a circular is being sent round to all the members of Convocation, soliciting their votes for the Rev. J. Garbett, late Fellow of Brasenose, and now Rector of Clayton, Sussex, in the approaching election for the Professorship of Poetry, I take the liberty of mentioning some circumstances which may influence your decision, and with which you are possibly unacquainted.

The Rev. Isaac Williams, M.A., Fellow of Trinity, was, before our recent unhappy divisions, generally thought by resident members of the University to be marked out by his poetic talents to fill that chair, whenever it should become vacant. In 1823 he gained the prize for Latin Verse; his subsequent larger verse, 'The Cathedral' and 'Thoughts in Past Years,' speak for themselves, both bearing the rich character of our early English poetry.

To those unacquainted with his character, or who know him only through the medium of newspaper controversy, it may be necessary to state, that the uniform tendency of his writings and influence has been to calm men's minds amid our unhappy divisions, and to form them in dutiful allegiance to that Church of which he is himself a reverential son and minister.

He is also a resident, whereas employments which involved non-residence were considered a sufficient reason to prevent a member of a leading college from being put forward by its Head.

On the other hand, it is a known fact, that Mr. Garbett would not even now have been brought forward, except to prevent the election of Mr. Williams.

Under these circumstances, it is earnestly hoped that the University will not, by the rejection of such a candidate as Mr. Williams, commit itself to the principle of making all its elections matters of party strife, or declaring ineligible to any of its offices (however qualified) persons, whose earnest desire and aim it has for many years been to promote the sound principles of our Church, according to the teaching of her Liturgy.

I have the honour to be,

Your humble servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

There can be no doubt that, as Pusey himself afterwards confessed, this letter was not justified. He was not in a position to ascribe such motives to the whole body of Mr. Williams' opponents. The Principal of Brasenose, Dr. Gilbert, at once put Pusey in a false position by publishing a letter

to him, in which he denied that the College had had any such object as Pusey had stated; while he enlarged with pardonable eagerness on Mr. Garbett's literary qualifications, and added an expression of regret that a contest which 'was begun in generous rivalry may be assuming more or less the character of religious division.' Still, whatever might be the motive of Brasenose College, a large party in the University certainly looked upon Mr. Garbett simply as the Anti-tractarian candidate; and at any rate Pusey's anxiety that country clergymen, who were asked to vote for him on literary grounds, should be made aware of the real nature of the contest, was quite intelligible.

If, however, Pusey's first circular was provoked by the religious partisanship which was opposed to Mr. Williams, it could hardly fail in turn to give prominence and acuteness to the theological aspects of the contest. Among many others the subjoined letter from Lord Ashley—afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury—will serve as an illustration:—

LORD ASHLEY TO E. B. P.

St. Giles' House, Woodyates,

MY DEAR PUSEY,

Nov. 29, 1841.

My personal respect and kindness for yourself are so great that I would readily acquiesce in any request of yours, if I could do so consistently with principle.

But I will not conceal from you, in reply to your letter, that if I do nothing against you, it is because I have not the power.

I have never had much predilection for the peculiar doctrines of the party to which Mr. Williams belongs; but their late opposition to the appointment of the Bishop of Jerusalem (for such he is, by God's blessing) has made me to abhor their opinions as much in practice, as I before feared them in speculation.

Mr. Williams, I have no doubt, is a very amiable man, and if I can do him any private service, you may command me.

Your affectionate cousin,

ASHLEY.

Lord Ashley followed this up by a letter to Mr. Roundell Palmer, which shows how exclusively, in some minds, theological considerations determined the vote against Williams.

LORD ASHLEY TO ROUNDELL PALMER, ESQ.

Dec. 11, 1841.

I have endeavoured to ascertain the principles of Mr. Williams, and I have found that he is the author of the tract entitled 'Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge.'

There is no power on earth that shall induce me to assist in elevating the writer of that paper to the station of a public teacher. I see very little difference between a man who promulgates false doctrines and him who suppresses the true. I cannot concur in the approval of a candidate whose writings are in contravention of the inspired Apostle, and reverse his holy exultation that he had 'not shunned to declare to his hearers the whole counsel of God.' I will not consent to give my support, however humble, towards the recognition of exoteric and esoteric doctrines in the Church of England, to obscure the perspicuity of the Gospel by the philosophy of Paganism, and make the places set apart for the ministrations of the preacher, whose duties must mainly be among the poor, the wayfaring, and the simple, as mystic and incomprehensible as the grove of Eleusis.

These, Sir, are my reasons for refusing my vote to Mr. Williams, and I hope I have given my answer as candidly as you have required it.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,
ASHLEY.

Mr. Palmer's reply was worthy of the occasion :—

'I would wish every one who reads your Lordship's letter, and feels with your Lordship, that, to justify a vote against Mr. Williams, he must have recourse to some legitimate ground of disqualification in what Mr. Williams has himself said or done as a theologian,—I wish every such person, as an act of common justice, would read for himself what Mr. Williams has written, and judge for himself whether you have given a correct account of it. If I can at all understand Mr. Williams, he has not taught, or intended to teach, what you have imputed to him. I say nothing about what he *may* have taught; that is another matter; it may or may not be open to objection, but, at all events, I deny that it is open to those particular objections which you urge. I deny that Mr. Williams has taught that the "whole counsel of God" is not to be freely "declared" to all who will receive it. I deny that he has taught that there is, or ought to be, a distinction of "exoteric and esoteric doctrines in the Church of England." I deny (so far as I can attach any definite meaning to your words) that he has "observed the perspicuity of the Gospel by the philosophy of Paganism," or "made the places set apart for the ministrations of the preacher as mystical and incomprehensible as the grove of Eleusis".'

It may be added that shortly afterwards, at Newman's suggestion, Pusey withdrew his letter from general circulation.

The state of things in Oxford in the middle of the Michaelmas Term is thus described to Mr. Hope by Newman:—

‘Nov. 19, 1841.

‘Every nerve is being exerted against Williams. Wadham is rising as a college, and has told one of its members that if Williams is beaten, Convocation is to go on to other stringent measures against us. I think all persons should know the exact state of the case. Nothing would more delight the Heads, in their own dominions supreme as they are, than to drive certain people out of the Church. Mordecai can neither do them good nor harm; he can but annoy them. Whether the Bishops, or at least some of them, would like it, is another matter.’

The canvass was kept up through the succeeding Christmas Vacation. Williams’ friends had not at first canvassed with the energy of their opponents, and they had much way to make up. But they were sanguine. On Jan. 3, 1842, Newman wrote to the same friend:—

‘Are we really to be beaten in this election? I will tell you a secret (if you care to know it), which not above three or four persons know. We have 480 promises. Is it then hopeless? . . . I don’t think our enemies would beat 600; at least it would be no triumph

But a fortnight later the outlook was less hopeful:—

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

‘Gladstone has got the Bishop of Oxford to write a letter to be shown to Williams, to get W. to retire, *because* the other party are obstinate. So we are thus to be used against ourselves. This is what Tony Forster calls “seething a lamb in its mother’s milk.” I trust and believe that none of W.’s friends will allow him to yield to a suggestion of this sort. The Trinity men seem strong against it.’

The circumstance thus referred to was not then accurately apprehended by Newman. The Bishop of Oxford’s name was attached to a circular, which was also signed by the Earl of Devon, and the Bishops of Exeter, Salisbury, Ripon, and Sodor and Man, and 253 other non-resident members of Convocation. This document was addressed to the rival committees. It urged that for the sake of the Church and the University the contest should cease, and accordingly suggested a withdrawal of both candidates. Mr. Garbett’s committee declined to entertain the proposal,

unless there was no chance of his success. Mr. Williams' committee was willing to compare promises, and the result of this comparison was adverse to his prospects.

Three days after the above letter to Pusey, Newman understood that 'the Trinity men were disposed to withdraw Williams, provided the Bishop would put his request into writing, and would add that no condemnation of W.'s opinions was intended.'

Pusey was out of heart. He had made a mistake himself. He was vexed at this employment of Episcopal authority. But he wished by anticipation to make the best of a result which he already foresaw.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Tuesday evening, Jan. 18, 1842.

. . . I do not like speaking about Williams: I seem so tempted to put myself in, where I have no business, that I scarcely like doing anything. Gladstone has put us in a wrong position: it is sacrificing us to his own views, and I think taking too much upon himself; an individual has no right to make a Bishop his organ to carry out his own views at such a moment; it is either giving colour to the imputation that we disregard Bishops when it suits us (though he is not Williams' Bishop), or making a Bishop interfere where he is not called upon. I wish some one (e. g. Rogers) could tell him so. One cannot foresee what the moral effect will be; it is giving immense power to individual Bishops, teaching them to use it (as you say) against the obedient, and (unless care be taken to let it be known what is the number of Williams' friends) will be looked upon by many as a mere get-off to save ourselves a defeat. On the other hand, no sacrifice was ever made without a reward. What think you?

Two days after the date of this letter, Mr. Williams' name was withdrawn from the contest. There was a comparison of promises of votes, the result of which is thus stated by Newman:—

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel, Jan. 20, 1842.

. . . The contest, as you know, is over—921 to 623. This is most satisfactory for us after all the clamour and excitement. The last hundred, I think, came in the last week. Had the election been three weeks later and a poll taken, I think we should nearly have beaten them. Woodgate's pamphlet is doing service. Numbers of the 921 would not have come to the poll.

Alluding to the contest a few days later, Bishop Bagot wrote as follows, in reply to Pusey's expression of a hope that the result of the contest would tend to peace :—

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO E. B. P.

Jan. 28, 1842.

. . . Let us now hope that the termination of the contest will tend at least to peace ; but, my dear Sir, there will *not* be peace or any general right understanding, [as to] where you yourselves would lead us, if you cannot restrain those younger men, who, professing to be your followers, run into extremes, but who, in fact, cease to follow any persons who do not go to the same extent they themselves judge to be right.

The problem of what to do with ' those younger men ' was also exercising Newman ; but his panacea was not exactly the sort of ' restraint ' which the Bishop was thinking of.

' I am almost in despair,' he had written to Hope on Jan. 3rd, ' of keeping men together. The only possible way is a monastery. Men want an outlet for their devotional and penitential feelings, and if we do not grant it, to a dead certainty they will go where they can find it. This is the beginning and end of the matter. Yet the clamour is so great, and will be so much greater, that if I persist, I expect (though I am not speaking from anything that has *occurred*) that I shall be stopped. Not that I have any intention of doing more at present than laying the foundation of what may be.'

The aspect which matters now wore in the eyes of some Churchmen who were slightly Pusey's seniors, and were living in the country, may be illustrated by a letter from the Rev. E. (afterwards Archdeacon) Churton. They were not well pleased at the attitude of the younger men ; they were vexed at not being consulted ; they were increasingly disposed to put an unfavourable construction even upon the most colourless incidents. In its candour, sympathy, warm indignation, and strange misunderstandings, the letter is such an instance of the extreme difficulties of that moment to those who loved the Church of England as to be worth printing.

REV. E. CHURTON TO E. B. P.

Crayke, Dec. 9, 1841.

. . . There is no man living for whose piety and self-devotion I have more respect than I have for yours. And I know that these qualities

are eminently conspicuous in some of those with whom you have been most associated. No man can know Williams without loving him. You have yourself formerly in your writings cautioned some of your followers against these excesses. Do you not discern enough in the present time to see that there is tenfold need of such caution now? I say, as I said to you at Oxford, that it is impossible to believe that God's blessing will be with these misguided efforts, in which 'the child behaves himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable.' You, and Keble, and Newman have been placed, against your own wish or purpose, at the head of a party. But when the party was formed you tried to direct it. In this, I fear, you have failed, and for this reason. Instead of controlling the ebullitions of the young wrong-heads, you have suffered yourselves to be inoculated with their frenzies. Instead of saying to them, what, I do not use the proscribed term of *common* sense, but what *good* sense would have suggested, 'Wait and be patient. Study Church History, and read the Fathers, before you write. Try fasting before you preach it. Prepare men's minds for a restoration of ceremonies before you restore them'; you have let them get ahead of you and drag you after them. Hence your proposal of reviving monastic life, and your very unfortunate appearance at Dublin, which has so deeply perplexed our best allies there. Hence No. 90, written not to express Newman's own views, but theirs who would needs venture to the edge of the precipice, to show how bold they were, and how little they cared for the opinion of the old and prudent, which youth regards as timidity. As for yourselves, that which has compelled me, most unwillingly, to forsake that entire union with you in which I found so much comfort, has been that you have seemed to treat these excesses as if they were providential indications for your guidance, and thought it a kind of 'quenching the Spirit' to keep them within rule and order. . . .

This letter is already longer than I meant it to be, but it would be all idle, and worse than idle, if it was written without attempting to point out a remedy. It is then thus. There are great dangers on one side, most unhappy suspicions on the other. It is most true that you have all three formerly, some more lately, expressed your opinions unequivocally enough about the Church of Rome. But you have been to Dublin since, and you know what advantage has been made of it. There have been too many other things, which have alike been interpreted as marking progress to a certain end. May I beg of you yourself to send me a few lines which I can show to friends in this neighbourhood, to express, what I do not want to be assured of, that you are not changed by your visit to Dublin; on the contrary, as you expressed to me, you are more convinced practically of the disingenuousness of the present leaders and teachers of Romanism in Ireland and in this country.

What more I would urge is, that defying all misinterpretation on either side, you should now do what a filial sense of duty to the Church

of England, the Church of the Prayer-book, would direct. Put forth some declaration of principles which may be accepted by the Church as *final*—let it only speak the firm uncompromising language of that good confessor whom you all venerate, the admirable Bishop Ken—let it say you are resolved by God's grace to live and die 'in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West; more particularly the communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all papal and puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.'

With regard to the young men, if you have any such among you as you cannot guide, you must let them drive their own way. But they will do very little harm, if you are not supposed to direct them; and if, as I believe, you are not consulted by many of them in what they do, why should you labour under the reputation which they procure for you? I can only say that the Church of all times will know how to make a distinction between those who patiently abide under persecution, and those who do all they can to bring it upon themselves—between Polycarp, and Quintus the Phrygian. . . .

Pusey replied with his wonted patience and mildness:—

E. B. P. TO REV. E. CHURTON.

Christ Church, Dec. 11, 1841.

I thank you very much for your kind letter. I must write briefly, having to look over an University sermon for to-morrow. . . .

I agree with you that it is quite unnatural that Presbyters should be directing any efforts in the Church, but if the Bishops will not do it, what are we to do? We must give advice when asked. We have always wished to direct people away from ourselves to the Church, as you say, the Church of the Prayer-book.

I fear there has been a great deal of want of self-command and humility among some young men, and that they have been tempting God and speaking in an unchastened way. But surely Newman's efforts have been strongly to produce the opposite temper, and this is, I hope, for the most part that prevalent. I have been desirous of instilling caution and humility and patience, and pray daily that God would give it us. I do not think that in Oxford there is the unpractical character you speak of, though I hear of it from Hook; people here fast before they speak of it, if they do speak of it.

Newman has just been preaching two very powerful sermons, solemnly warning people who have any hope that the Holy Spirit has been present with their hearts, not to forsake that Church where their Saviour's Presence is. They were on 'The Kingdom of God is within you'.¹ No one has any notion how much he has done to withhold people from forsaking our Church for Rome; and certainly the cases

¹ Sermons on Subjects of the Day, ed. 1844, No. 21. Cf. *ib.* p. 348 note.

we meet with are not such as are going over from our writings, but in utter ignorance of the principles of our Church—from the Low Church or No Church, not from us.

With regard to Rome, the unnaturalness of our present insulated state, separated from the rest of the East and West, is felt in a degree in which probably it was not felt formerly except by such men as Bishops Ken and Andrewes ; but there is no wish for a premature union : it is only wished and longed and prayed for, that we may both become such, that we may safely be united. Some feel this more especially towards Rome, on account of the benefits she conferred on us in times past ; my own thoughts (as you will see in my Letter to Jelf) have been directed rather to the reunion of the whole Church. I need not tell you that the feelings expressed in that Letter are unaltered by my visit to Ireland. Indeed, as I said publicly in my letter to Dr. M[iley], the result of that visit was to make me less hopeful as to any near reunion of the Church, seeing how little inclined they were to give up what were the most grievous offences in our eyes. There seemed no disposition to amend. Newman never would even think of any terms on which the Church could be reunited ; he thinks everything of the kind premature, as of course it would be in us : he works for futurity.

As to monasticism, I do not go further than Archbishop Leighton in what he says about 'retreats for men of ——— and mortified tempers,' which he regrets were lost at the Reformation. I have long strongly thought that we needed something of this sort ; it is not Romanist but primitive—B. Harrison, as well as others, think co-eval with Christianity ; all minds are not formed in the same way nor need the same course of training. I think it would be a great blessing to our Church to have some such institutions, but this is no new view with me ; what I thought when I wrote to the Bishop of Oxford I think now. My visits to the convents at Dublin have not changed my views, except so far that I should not think now of any formal institution, but wish people quietly to form themselves.

I really must not add more except that I am grateful for your letter, and am

Ever your affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PUBLISHED LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY—THEOLOGICAL PROFESSORSHIP—CENSURE ON HAMPDEN REAFFIRMED—FEARS OF SECESSIONS—NEWMAN'S MISGIVINGS—DEATH OF DR. ARNOLD—NEWMAN'S RETRACTATION—PUSEY'S TRUST IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

1842-1843.

THE situation of affairs in Oxford at the termination of the struggle for the Chair of Poetry was undoubtedly more anxious than any that had preceded it. The disposition among the younger men to give the Movement a Roman direction was aggravated by a sense of failure within the University, and by the increasingly hostile tone of Episcopal authority. Episcopal charges were being published almost every month, which scarcely varied the monotony of denunciation. The Bishop of Winchester refused a second time to ordain Mr. Young, a refusal which obliged even the author of 'The Christian Year' to appeal to the Primate in a document which, notwithstanding its studied respect and moderation, is the severest condemnation of an attempt to substitute the prejudices of a party for the formularies of the Church of England in the administration of an important diocese. Bishop Blomfield, whose scholarship and talent for organization did not imply independence of the gusts of popular opinion, was turning more and more decidedly against the men who had strengthened his hands in the earlier days of his Episcopate. 'After reading No. 90,' he said at a dinner-table full of young clergymen, 'no power on earth should induce me to ordain any person who held

systematically the opinions of that Tract.' Archbishop Howley, too, was not prevented by his chaplain from a partial abandonment of the attitude which had won the love and respect of the Oxford writers. Writing to Pusey about a proposal of Mr. Bellasis¹, to get up an address from the legal profession in favour of the Tracts, Newman remarks:—

‘ Jan. 2, 1842.

‘ It seems to me his project is a very desirable one, if it can be done as he hopes. The Archbishop, observe, is *taking a new line*. Last March he stifled addresses *for* the Tracts because they would elicit counter addresses. Now he receives one *against* them, and that at SUCH a moment! As if there were not excitement enough! As if not violence enough on the side he backs up!’

Pusey, too, was, although reluctantly, in favour of the address, as is shown by the following letter:—

E. B. P. TO E. BELLASIS, ESQ.
116 Marine Parade, Brighton,

Jan. 3, 1842.

Newman has just forwarded to me a letter of yours. I was against any address of sympathy to us last year as feeling that we did not want it, and I was afraid lest it should call forth a counter declaration, and commit people before they considered what they were doing. I had not heard of the Cheltenham address or the Archbishop's reply. But if they have begun the attack, I quite agree with you that it is desirable that there should be counter addresses, else the Bishops will be misled. I very much fear that they do not in the least realize the state of feeling in the Church and will consequently make mistakes, which may be very injurious; it is natural to judge of things by the sensation they make: they have no idea of strong, deep, quiet feeling. I hope that the Poetry election will, amid all its evils, have some effect this way, but I should think such addresses as you speak of will also do good, both as expressing sympathy, putting the Bishops more in possession of the real state of things, and inclining them in the end perhaps to wish all such addresses at an end on both sides, which will tend to give us what we so much want—peace.

I like the topics you have mentioned, and agree with your reasons why the barristers should begin. Excuse haste.

Yours very faithfully,

E. B. PUSEY.

I do fear that we are suffering very much from want of courage. Truths are depreciated, and things allowed to go by default, when, if persons were to speak out boldly, they would carry others with them:

¹ Afterwards Mr. Serjeant Bellasis. He eventually became a Roman Catholic.

e.g. what a torrent against Tract 90, and feeble defences, instead of saying boldly, that people were all sick, and are but like ill-trained children, who are clamouring that the medicine is unpalatable.

Before, however, this proposal could be carried out, the Archbishop found himself face to face with another question which inevitably caused him much embarrassment. The Queen had invited the King of Prussia to become sponsor to the Prince of Wales. The controversy about the Jerusalem Bishopric had directed attention to the general subject of German Protestantism, and there was a strong feeling abroad, especially among the clergy, against the presence of a Lutheran, however estimable he might be as a man, on so serious an occasion. A memorial to this effect was circulated in the Diocese of Oxford, and a copy of it was forwarded by Bishop Bagot to the Primate. His view of it was conveyed in a letter to Bishop Bagot and was strongly adverse to the proposal. Though not surprised, he regretted the fact of such a Protest, knew that it would give great offence and would be useless, gave precedents, e.g. of a German Grand Duke having been sponsor to George IV., and recommended that the Protest, if not 'stifled, should be completely discouraged.'

Two or three secessions to the Roman Catholic Church occurred about this time. They were sufficiently deplorable in themselves and in the time of their occurrence; and they may well have appeared to persons in the position of the Primate, to warrant the distrust which he was beginning to feel about the Oxford writers. The Archbishop was also disappointed at the result of his interview with Pusey in September, 1841. He had made the common mistake of supposing that leaders of opinion can always influence their followers to any extent that their relations with other people may render desirable. This will appear from the subjoined letter of the Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Lyall, to Bishop Bagot. It was evidently written at the Archbishop's suggestion:—

THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Addington, Jan. 14, 1842.

The Archbishop told me that about three months ago, he invited

Dr. Pusey to Addington on purpose to have some communication with him on the subject of the present state of things at Oxford. On representing to Dr. Pusey the many serious evils, present and prospective, occasioned by the agitation of the opinions put forth in Oxford, Dr. Pusey asked the Archbishop what course his Grace would recommend to be pursued. The Archbishop advised that for a time, at least, he (Dr. Pusey and his friends) should rest entirely quiet—neither putting out any new tract or other publication, nor answering any put out against him and his opinions. The Archbishop would seem to have had an impression that this course would be followed. It is not necessary to say that it has not, but that, on the contrary, the controversy is being carried on with more heat and bitterness than before—if not by Dr. Pusey or Mr. Newman themselves, certainly by their followers and those over whom they undoubtedly do or can exercise influence.

Under these circumstances the Archbishop said to me, that he thought Dr. Pusey and his immediate advisers and friends were bound in conscience and in all fairness of argument to make some formal statement declaratory of their true meaning.

It has been contended that Pusey was putting himself forward unnecessarily in writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He really had very little choice in the matter. The feeling which was now beginning to prevail in the highest places of the English Church was made up of irritation and fear, and it was rapidly tending to make a calm and accurate appreciation of men and circumstances difficult, if not impossible. It was well described in the following letter from a friend, the Rev. Thomas Henderson, to Pusey a month or two later:—

‘Ash Wednesday, 1842.

‘A fortnight since, the Bishop of London said this to myself: “I remarked yesterday to the Archbishop, and he quite agreed with me, that we had been worse treated by the Oxford writers than we have ever been by the Evangelical party in the whole course of our government in the Church.” Again, in a letter dated as far back as Nov. 29, the Bishop writes: “I confess I feel indignant at their late proceedings, which are however, I believe, but a sample of what they intend to do.” Again: “They might have strengthened the Church, and I believe they intended to do so—they are now doing all they can undesignedly to weaken her. But she will survive the infatuation of friends as well as the hostility of foes, and I well believe the time will come when the greater number of those who are now holding out the hand of friendship to Rome will see their errors, and to a certain point retrace their steps.” “With regard to myself,” he continues, “I have hitherto endeavoured to keep peace and to prevent outbreaks of party

feeling, but the late proceedings of the Oxford men have made it almost impossible to continue my endeavours with any hope of success."

'All this as showing grievous misunderstanding is deplorable. Again, then, may your forthcoming Letter subserve the end of removing it, if only in part.'

Early in October Harrison had urged Pusey to write a public Letter to the Archbishop in explanation of the views and principles of the Oxford writers. This task was delayed by the pressure of regular work and irregular controversy; but in January, 1842, Pusey reports progress as follows:—

E. B. P. TO REV. B. HARRISON.

[35 Grosvenor Square], Jan. 22, 1842.

Friday night.

It is past two, so I only wish to tell you what I have been doing. I continued my Appeal to the Archbishop. I waited first for the Bishop of Winchester's Charge, then for the documents, and have not had time quite to finish it. I began, after what you saw, stating and illustrating that the tendency to Romanism does not come from us, and so that it is not merely by censuring us that it can be met. This is printed, and Marriott as well as Newman like it much.

Then I have analyzed the Charges, putting first the favourable (Bishops of Ripon, Exeter), then the adverse; showing that the first censure only accidentals, not the essence of the doctrine; the latter censure not us, but what they think us to be, and which we too should censure. Then I have inculcated good services as a plea for sympathy.

Then I have said that things are safe in the main so long as our Church does not undergo any organic change, as e.g. a declaration of the Bishops, or any committal of Church to ultra-Protestantism. I very much dread the King of Prussia's visit. Germany does not wish for Bishops, and I feel convinced is unfit to receive Episcopacy. I doubt whether really orthodox persons could be found to be consecrated. '*Sincerum est nisi vas. . .*'

I deeply dread the Bishops committing themselves by a Declaration. I am going to Clifton in the middle of the day, hoping to return to Oxford on Monday.

You will not mind my saying that your tone seems to me to grow harsher and more condemnatory. Manning liked all the articles in the *British Critic*, except one which he had not read. You seem to me to read with the bias to blame.

It is curious to notice Pusey's prescience in thus early deprecating those Episcopal Declarations which, at intervals in the controversies of the next forty years, may be fairly

charged with having been injurious to the true interests of the Church. While committing nobody, much less the Church itself, they seemed to lay claim to high authority, yet really only expressed the feelings of alarm at moments of agitation.

As the Letter to the Archbishop was printed off in slips it was submitted to Newman, who bestowed on these fragments a much warmer approval than was usual with him.

‘I like your slips very much indeed, and think them quite beautiful.’ ‘Your peroration I like extremely: indeed the whole Apologia is the best thing to my mind you have written.’ ‘I am no fit judge at all as to what the effect of your Letter will be. I am simply unable to say anything. I liked it much myself, but that very reason made me feel that perhaps many others might not like it.’

Newman, however, suggested alterations in the rough draft of the Letter, which appear to have been adopted. A reference to the ‘engagements’ of the Bishops was omitted lest it should be thought ‘satirical.’ An allusion to the Rev. W. Palmer of Magdalen was introduced with a view to showing how much of the existing Church feeling had been formed independently of the Tracts¹. Newman further suggested that the clamour against Popery was making undergraduates turn their thoughts that way and feel interested in Rome—undergraduates who knew nothing about the Tracts, but of whose conversion, if it were to happen, the Tract-writers would get the credit. Conversions to Rome, he insisted, did not occur ‘till the Bishops’ Charges so opened against us; nor did *we* express fears.’ He added words which show his sense of the great and increasing difficulty of the situation:—

‘Oriel, Jan. 24, 1842.

‘The Heads of Houses have most lamentably opened a door to all mischief by their act of last March. They have proclaimed to the country that *their own place* is Popish, without having the power to obviate it. This, according to the proverb, is crying stinking fish. The country naturally says, “Are we to send our children for education to a place confessed by its own guardians to be unsafe?” I confess I do not see the end of the difficulty. I suppose Church Convocation must meet, but what they can do does not appear. Certain positions in No. 90 might be condemned.’

¹ ‘Letter, &c.,’ p. 88 note.

At Newman's suggestion Pusey also consulted Mr. J. R. Hope¹, who warmly advised him to publish his proposed Letter, 'if only to make people pause and consider what our present position really is.' Mr. Hope added some criticisms in detail. The suggestion, which in view of present circumstances was of the highest importance, ran as follows:—

J. R. HOPE, ESQ., TO E. B. P.

Jan. 31, 1842.

When you speak of 'men's judgements' I have noted that this might be misunderstood as despising the Bishops. To which I wish to add that I think it would be well that you should give a distinct view of the authority both of individual and collective Bishops of *our* (not the Universal) Church, showing that (as I conceive) they may be listened to for *discipline's sake*, but must be judged, *as regards authority over Conscience*, by the Church Catholic. And that the very same principle which leads to submission to them in the one case, implies (if need be) rejection in the other. Men choose to wonder why persons who (as they say) so much exalt Bishops, should be ready to protest against them.

The Letter itself is the most striking of these compositions which Pusey produced. It loses itself less in details; it is more concerned with the statement of principles. No previous task of the kind to which he had set his hand had been so delicate and so difficult; never had he written—not even a year before on the subject of Tract 90—with so keen a sense of urgent and increasing danger. He is obliged now to admit the existence of a tendency to Rome; but it was due, he contends, to other causes than the 'Tracts for the Times,' and largely to the recent growth of the Roman Church in England, and to the longing for visible unity. This longing, however, would be kept in check, partly by the growing sense of blessings which were inseparably connected with membership of the English Church; partly by such evils as the denial of the Cup to the laity, and the cultus of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Roman communion.

'I need but allude to one precious Gift, whose value none can estimate, bestowed on us alone in the whole Western Church, and which

¹ See his letter in 'Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott, Esq.,' ii. 8 seqq.

I cannot understand how any communicant who loves his Lord, could of his own act forego. One would not speak of persons in those Churches which refuse the Cup to their members; sore as the loss is, God can make up to His own any losses which they sustain where He has placed them; but for one who has had that privilege bestowed upon him voluntarily to forsake the Communion wherein God has given it him, it does seem such a wilful rejection of the gift of his Saviour's Blood, as, in any who knew what that Gift is, one should dread to think of¹.

Again:—

'Throughout all she [the Roman Catholic Church] has of excellent, there is spread (to mention no more) that one corrupting leaven, the joining of the creature with the Creator, setting forth another object of affection, "giving His glory to another," teaching both saint and sinner to rely upon the Blessed Virgin as on Him².'

The burden of the Letter is a respectful and passionately earnest plea against the language which had been used with reference to the Oxford writers by some of the Bishops. Pusey justifies this part of his Letter by referring to Law's controversy with Hoadley. He then reviews the more prominent Episcopal Charges which had been delivered, and he could do this the more freely because as yet his own Diocesan, the Bishop of Oxford, had not addressed his clergy on the subject. Pusey's old tutor, Bishop Maltby of Durham, had indeed complained of the Oxford writers in terms which were naturally appropriated for controversial purposes by the *Dublin Review*. The Bishops of Ripon and Exeter, although finding fault with certain features of the Oxford teaching, had made large and generous admissions in its favour. The two Low Church Bishops of Chester and Winchester were wildly denunciatory; the former even regarding the Oxford writers as 'instruments of Satan to hinder the true principles of the Gospel.' These two Bishops represented a narrow variety of the Popular Puritanism. This leads Pusey to describe in a passage of singular truth and beauty the character of the so-termed Evangelical revival:—

'The instruments of that revival looked, in the first instance, for the type of their doctrine, neither to the Reformers of the

¹ 'Letter,' p. 12, 3rd ed.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13, 3rd ed.

sixteenth, nor the great divines of the seventeenth century, but to the Nonconformists. In contrast with a period in which the consciousness of the great truths of the Gospel had become obscure and dim, they seized, as your Grace knows familiarly, one or two fundamental truths, or, rather, they condensed the whole Gospel into the two fundamental truths of nature and of grace, that by nature we are corrupt, by grace we are saved. Our corruption by nature, our justification by faith, were not a summary only, but, in this meagre form, the whole substance of their teaching. Faith also was made the act of the mind, believing and appropriating to itself the merits of our Blessed Lord; the rest of the Christian system, of God's gifts, the Church, the Sacraments, good works, holiness, self-discipline, repentance, were looked upon but as introductory, or subsidiary, or to follow as a matter of course upon these, but if thought of any value in themselves, pernicious; to attach value to any of them was (as we have often been condemned to hear, and shocking as it is to repeat) to substitute (as it might be) the Church or the Sacraments, or repentance or good works for Christ. And from this we are but partially recovering. One must respect the sensitiveness of those, who, with a "godly jealousy," fear lest anything be substituted for our Ever-blessed Redeemer. Still one must say that the error is with them. The narrowness of what one must call the "Nonconformist" system (for on the doctrine of Holy Baptism it is plainly at variance with that of the reformers in our Church as well as its Formularies) cannot span the largeness of Catholic truth; it cannot expand itself so as to comprise it, and what it cannot take into its own measures, it rejects as superfluous. Measured then by this rule, our teaching must needs be found faulty¹.

He then discusses the Jerusalem Bishopric in terms which have been already referred to; and points out in conclusion the need of peace for all, and of sympathy and guidance for the younger men from their fathers in Christ. One of the most solemn paragraphs of his closing appeal runs as follows:—

'At this anxious crisis of our Church wherein we "are a spectacle to the world and to angels and to men," have your Lordships been called to your holy station in the "government of the Church of Christ," where your every word and action is fraught with consequences incalculable; I dare not apprehend that you will not act with the due reverence and caution, when you know how deeply intertwined with the whole frame of our present Church these chords are, upon which you have from time to time touched, and which some, who know not what they are doing, would urge you to pull so vehemently; how

¹ 'Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,' pp. 50, 51, 3rd ed.

many, in silence yet how profoundly, sympathize; how fearfully any mistaken movement might jar through the whole system; what tokens there are that, whoever may have been here or there employed, the whole is the work not of man but of God. I have no fears but that, as was prayed for you¹, you will "use the authority given to you, not to destruction, but to salvation; not to hurt but to help; giving, as faithful and wise servants, to the family of God their portion in due season, that you may be at last received into everlasting joy." And for this cause I have ventured thus to speak. On your Lordships, singly in your measures, but much more were you to act collectively, may depend the well-being of our Church, or the degree of her well-being, during her whole existence².

The Letter was, upon the whole, well received. The Archbishop and some other prelates were said to be favourably impressed. The Bishop of Rochester spoke very kindly of the Letter, but made a reserve as to the passage about monasticism. The Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Denison, was at once sympathetic and critical:—

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY TO E. B. P.

9 Wilton Crescent, March 9, 1842.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

. . . It is, I am sure, always my own fault, if I do not profit by reading anything you write, even if I cannot, as is sometimes the case, assent to all your views and reasonings, and the present aspect of things in the Church is indeed such as to fill me with anxiety, and to make me consider every prospect with apprehensive thought. In what you say about the Charges of different Bishops, I do not think that you sufficiently bear in mind that it is the nature of all authority to be repressive rather than encouraging; and again that if other parties draw general and unfair inferences from expressions of opinion in particular points, the authors are not and ought not to be made responsible for this. Will you also allow me to say how much I regret that you either have not felt disposed or not at liberty to express any disapproval of the language about our own Church and that of Rome which has been used in various publications, and has naturally excited a very strong and general sensation. I hope you will excuse my saying thus much. It is more than I have said to any one else; but as I had read your Letter before I acknowledged it, it would, I think, not be acting with the openness I should wish to show towards you to content myself with merely thanking you for it. . . .

Believe me, very truly yours,

E. SARUM.

¹ Office for the Consecration of Bishops.

² 'Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,' pp. 130, 131, 3rd ed.

Dr. Hook was very cordial: the Letter had satisfied him that Pusey's teaching about post-baptismal sin was not Novatianism.

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Leeds, March 3, 1842.

. . . Many thanks for your Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. I cannot tell you how much I am relieved by what you have said on Baptism in that Letter. I never could detect before the difference between your view of sin after Baptism and that of the Novatians, and to me, preaching as I do to thousands who have never thought of their baptismal vows, the doctrine was perplexing; a treatise on Absolution would indeed be useful.

I remain, your affectionate friend,

W. F. HOOK.

On the other hand, Pusey received some strong expressions of adverse criticism. Archdeacon Hale, while holding that Pusey's language about German Protestantism was well worth considering, could not understand how any improvement in the Roman Church could be a cause of satisfaction to Pusey, since 'it would only make men at large more blind to her corruptions and idolatries than they were before.' The Archdeacon equally deprecated 'the false candour which praised Dissent because of its piety,' since in the eyes of the common people such praise removes all real objection to a false system. 'It is,' observed the Archdeacon, 'by the outward appearance of something or other good in them, that bad men and bad things bear sway in the world.'

Whatever hopes Pusey might at one period have entertained and expressed with regard to Protestant Germany, he had learnt by this time a truer estimate: he quotes Tholuck to illustrate the ravages of Rationalism among German Protestants; he even goes so far as to say that 'even in the sounder part of the Luther-Calvinist body there is not a vestige among its writers of the first condition of a sound restoration—humility¹.'

The crucial passage in his Letter to the Archbishop had run as follows:—

¹ 'Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,' p. 103, 3rd ed.

‘Still less, I own, can I see,—even if your Grace were advised, or it were lawful, to free the Bishop from those obligations by which he is at present bound,—how the picture of an United Church could be presented by an English and Lutheran congregation, of which the one holds “One Holy Catholic Church, throughout all the world,” knit together by its Bishops, as “joints and bands,” under its One Head, Christ, and joined on by unbroken succession to the Apostles; the other, an indefinite number of Churches, hanging together by an agreement in a scheme of doctrine framed by themselves, and modified by the civil power; of which the one holds Confirmation to be the act of the Bishop, the other deems such unnecessary but accepts it for its younger members: the one holds Ordination to be derived from the Apostles; the other, that Presbyters, uncommissioned, may confer it, and that those on whom it has been so conferred, may consecrate the Holy Eucharist: the one recites the Creed of Nicea, the other has laid it aside: in the one, ancient prayer, the inspired Psalms, and hearing God’s Word, are the chief part of their weekly service; in the other, uninspired hymns and preaching, with prayer extempore: the one kneel in prayer, the other not even at the Holy Eucharist: with the one, the Lord’s Day is a Holy Day, with the other a holyday: the one receives “the Faith” as “once for all delivered to the saints”; the other, as susceptible of subsequent correction and development: the one rests her authority and the very titles of her existence on being an Ancient Church, the other boasts itself modern: the one, not founded by man, but descended of that founded on the day of Pentecost; the other dating itself from Luther, and claiming to be the parent of all, not in outward communion with the great Eastern and Western Branches, and so of our own Church by whom it was originally converted: the one recognizes and has been recognized by the Ancient Church of the East, the other rejects her and is anathematized by her. Still less is there any hope, that by receiving Ministers ordained by our Bishops, they express any wish to be received into our Church, or become one with her¹’

This language attracted attention in Germany no less than in England, and the Rev. H. Abeken, Chaplain to the Prussian Legation at Rome, remonstrated with its author, first in a private communication, and then in a public letter².

All that Mr. Abeken wrote only too clearly showed that Pusey was right in contending that the German Protestants

¹ ‘Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,’ pp. 106, 107, 3rd ed.

² ‘A Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., in reference to certain charges against the German Church, contained

in his Letter to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury,’ by the Rev. H. Abeken, Theol. Lic., Chaplain to His Prussian Majesty’s Legation at Rome. London: J. W. Parker, 1842.

did not want the Episcopate, and that it could not be imposed on them against their will, or without their earnestly desiring it. Mr. Abeken could not understand why, without entering on this question, 'the Church of England could not come forward and act in common' with the Lutherans 'for the extension of the kingdom of heaven.' The answer was, that if the Episcopate was necessary, she could not dispense with it; and her belief in its necessity appeared from her maintaining it in circumstances when its absence would have very considerably promoted unity among Protestants. 'With regard to the question now at stake,' wrote Pusey, 'the pamphlet contains nothing in any way to change the view put forward in my own ¹.'

In the spring of 1842 a statute was submitted to the Convocation of Oxford having for its object a considerable extension of the Theological Faculty. Two new Chairs, of Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology, were established by the Crown, and this involved a rearrangement of the subjects which had been hitherto handled by the Regius and Margaret Professors of Divinity. The Hebrew professor occupied a position which might appear to make it doubtful whether he was a Divinity professor or a professor of language. Pusey insisted strongly that he was a professor of Divinity; that he could only lecture upon books which formed part of the Sacred Volume; and that Hebrew philology was ancillary to the largest department of the Interpretation of the Bible.

The anticipated promulgation of a new statute led Pusey to ask the Vice-Chancellor to enable him to secure in it a more definite recognition of the theological character of his professorship. He wrote a strong and sensible letter supporting this view, but apparently without result. At any rate the proposed statute was circulated in the University on April 18, and on the following day Pusey again addressed the Vice-Chancellor, urging more strenuously,

¹ 'Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury,' p. 150, 3rd ed.

in the interest both of Theology and Hebrew study, the objection to the statute he had previously raised.

The Vice-Chancellor appears to have replied that the Hebdomadal Council did not wish to interfere with the existing arrangements for old professorships. Pusey wrote again to point out that the language of the proposed statute did tend to make him merely a professor of language. But the Vice-Chancellor had other advisers. One object of the new statute was to establish an examination in Theology, and it was provided that the Hebrew professor might have a voice in the election of Examiners. Dr. Hampden, as Regius Professor of Divinity, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor stating his objection to this proposal. After enumerating some objections of a more technical kind, he proceeds:—

‘April 27, 1842.

‘I have a few more weighty objections to the proposed statute in its present form. I have been reluctant to put it forward lest I should seem to be making an objection on mere personal grounds, which I may assure you is not the case with me. I must own to you then that I should object at any rate to investing the Professor of Hebrew with a power not recognized by the Statutes, by making him *ex officio* an Examiner in Theology, or even a member of a Theological Board. He need not in fact necessarily be a graduate in Theology.

‘If, however, the proposed statute, when ultimately brought before Convocation, further goes to invest the present holder of that Professorship with such power,—does it not become a serious question, whether one could conscientiously vote for a measure conferring this privilege on an individual who is identified with a class of theological writers who have attracted to them the expostulations and reproofs of several of our Bishops,—one who advocates the views of those writers as developed in the “Tracts for the Times,” and in particular that number of the Tracts which has been expressly censured by the Hebdomadal Board, and whose principles, it can hardly be doubted, are unfriendly to the Reformation and the Protestant establishment of the Church?’

It is clear then that Dr. Hampden was deliberately endeavouring to exclude Pusey from part of the work of the Theological faculty, and that on account of distrust of his opinions. In accordance with the same plan of action was an inflammatory lecture delivered by him in the Divinity School against Tractarian teaching.

As on other occasions, the Latitudinarian hatred of dogma was too much for the toleration which they generally professed. Hampden was working for the exclusion of Pusey, as previously Arnold had denounced 'the Malignants,' and Whately and Tait had stimulated the excitement against Newman and Ward.

On Monday, May 23, Bishop Bagot delivered in St. Mary's the Charge which he had dreaded and postponed. In it he by one unhappy expression broke the understanding that, the Tracts having been stopped at his suggestion, he would say nothing in condemnation of them. He spoke of Tract 90 as follows: 'Although the licence of Calvinistic interpreters had often gone beyond what was attempted in the Ninetieth Tract,' the Bishop 'could not reconcile himself to a system of interpretation which was so subtle that by it the Articles might be made to mean *anything or nothing*.' This last expression was suggested by a Chaplain; for few phrases perhaps has the Church of England paid more dearly.

'Even my own Bishop,' wrote Newman, 'has said that my mode of interpreting the Articles makes them mean *anything or nothing*. When I heard this delivered I did not believe my ears. I denied to others that it was said. . . . Out came the Charge, and the words could not be mistaken. This astonished me the more because I published that letter to him (how unwillingly you know) on the understanding that *I* was to deliver his judgment on No. 90 *instead* of him. A year elapses and a second and heavier judgment came forth. I did not bargain for this—nor did he. But the tide was too strong for him¹.'

The excellent and accomplished author of the phrase has in later years thus touchingly alluded to it:—

THE REV. F. E. PAGET TO BISHOP EDEN.

Jan. 24, 1879.

I was guilty of doing much mischief by an honest but unguarded, and ill-considered opinion. He [Bishop Bagot] put Tract 90 into my hands, and asked me what I thought of it. I answered as I then thought: 'At this rate the Articles may be made to mean *anything or*

¹ 'Apologia,' p. 350.

nothing.' It was just one of those short speeches which, having a sting, are not forgotten. I cannot atone for my fault. All I can now do is to say that the words originated with me; and that for many years greatly have I sorrowed over a misunderstood motive.

The Charge took Oxford by surprise, and its effect was immediately apparent in the action of the Heads of Houses. It is a curious coincidence, if nothing more, that on the next day, May 24th, there appeared a notice of a motion which would be brought before Convocation to abrogate the Censure passed on Dr. Hampden in 1836. At that date, it will be remembered, the Censure had been carried in the Hebdomadal Board only by a narrow majority, although passed by a large majority in Convocation; and the new statute for regulating Divinity studies, by which Dr. Hampden, as Regius Professor, was made Chairman of the Theological Board, had been unopposed. The Bishop's language about Tract 90 may well have led Hampden's friends in the Hebdomadal Board to think that his strongest opponents were too divided, or too cowed, to offer any very effective resistance.

It is due to the Vice-Chancellor of the day, Dr. Wynter, to say that he, at least, was not in favour of the proposed measure. He did not vote against it. It was his rule, as Vice-Chancellor, to avoid giving a vote whenever he could: he looked upon himself, when presiding at the meetings of the Heads, as in the position of a 'Speaker.' But he has left his opinion of this proposal on record; it was to the effect that until Dr. Hampden retracted his expressed opinions, no withdrawal of the Censure was consistent or reasonable.

Though the University was taken by surprise, it was not long before a memorial, condemning the proposed abrogation of the Censure, received the signatures of persons strongly opposed to each other on other subjects; of Mr. Tait, as well as Mr. MacMullen; of Mr. Palmer of Magdalen, as well as Mr. Golightly; of Mr. Sewell, who by a recent article in the *Quarterly* had been understood to withdraw himself partly from the Tractarians, as well as of Mr. Newman.

At the same time many of the Low Church party held aloof from the opposition; and the idea that the question was only another phase of the contest between the Tractarians and their opponents would have influenced the majority of the Hebdomadal Board, when returning, as they did, an unfavourable answer to the memorialists.

Looking to the conduct of the majority of the Heads, it might have been supposed that Dr. Hampden had proclaimed some change in his religious opinions: but the truth would appear to be that he had done nothing of the kind, although unquestionably in his public language he now gave greater prominence to the popular Protestantism of the day. It was in accordance with this that on June 1st he had delivered, as Professor, his lecture in the Divinity School. The subject was the Thirty-nine Articles. In this lecture he not only said he had nothing to retract, while virtually reaffirming his opinions by reference to his Bampton Lectures, but he also described his opponents as a virulent 'Romanizing' party banded together under leaders against him. He appealed to the 'sincere part of the Church in the University'; to 'all unprejudiced and still Protestant members of the Church.'

The University once more found itself committed to an exasperating contest.

'You cannot imagine,' wrote James Mozley, 'the state of bustle and activity we have been in. The last week has been a complete dream, —of interminable plannings, devisings, machinatings, talkings, walkings, writings, printings, letters for the post, wafers, sealing-wax, &c. . . . The new statute is expected to be thrown out by a large majority. Nobody sticks up a moment for the Heads of Houses¹.'

Pusey, of course, had his full share of all this work.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

[Christ Church, May 31, 1842.]

I hope on this sad occasion you will come to this house. I have written to Miller of Worcester (whether he comes I know not), your brother, and Manning. It would be pleasant at least that you should see each other, and I you.

¹ 'Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley,' p. 132.

I fear there is increasing ground for anxiety; the Low Church keeps aloof; the *Standard* has begun the Anti-Newman cry; circulars are being sent on the other side; people whom one would not expect take odd crotchets; then comes in natural kindness, and the unwillingness to pain—and how much is there of stern Athanasian principle?

However, I believe people are sanguine, although I should not be surprised at a combination of Low Church, Liberals, Anti-tractarians against us.

Ever yours most affectionately and obliged,

E. B. PUSEY.

Dinner will not be till six on Monday. It made one's heart sink to have to think Golightly's name an accession.

REV. J. KEBLE TO E. B. P.

Hursley, June 2, 1842.

I shall be most glad to come to you on Monday, as you kindly propose, and thus get some good out of what seems an unpromising affair. However, I console myself in this way, that either the statute will be affirmed, or, if repealed, it will be by such a combination as will prove to all men the rationalizing tendency of the Puritan School. I hope to be with you by the Southampton coach, which is in (I think) soon after five. I shall get down at your door. Moberly means to post up with five more votes early on Tuesday morning, and I suppose Wilson, Young, and Ryder, and perhaps Tragett of C. C. C., will come by the train that morning. . . .

I am, ever yours most affectionately,

J. KEBLE.

Samuel Wilberforce will not come up at all, I think. If he did, I cannot make out from his talk which way he would vote. I fear Hamilton also means to be neutral.

In his reference to 'odd crotchets,' Pusey was doubtless thinking among others of the Rev. W. K. Hamilton, then Canon, afterwards Bishop, of Salisbury. Mr. Hamilton had never felt satisfied with the justice of the methods by which Hampden had been condemned. He could not oppose the suggested repeal of the Censure, though he felt the inconsistency of those who, having censured, were ready to withdraw the Censure without any retraction on Hampden's part.

The battle was fought in Convocation on June 7th. The speeches were, of course, in Latin; the two best being those of Mr. W. Sewell and Mr. Vaughan Thomas. On a

division, the Censure was reaffirmed by a majority of 115 in a House of 553. The Convocation of the University saved its consistency; but the diminished majority¹ showed that recent alarms, and perhaps Dr. Hampden's appeals to the popular Protestantism, had not been without effect. Still, so far as the University was concerned, the question of Dr. Hampden was at an end.

The year 1842 was in Pusey's life, as in the Movement, a preparation for what was to follow. The inauguration of the Martyrs' Memorial was naturally the occasion of a demonstration against the Oxford School, although it may be questioned whether so graceful an erection, surmounted by a cross, was in the long run well calculated to recommend the Puritanism which built it. Pusey was distressed also by some secessions to Rome. When it was said to him that they were not important people, he would reply, 'But they are doing wrong; and souls are souls.'

Still graver matter for anxiety was to be found in an unsettlement of minds which threatened, at no distant date, a more serious catastrophe. Among Newman's companions at Littlemore was one respecting whom Pusey had been led to feel anxious.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Aug. 18, [1842].

You will not mind my asking you what line you adopted for the restoration of —, and whether you distinctly urged upon him the duty of abiding in his Church. What effect do you think the use of the Breviary at L[ittlemore] had upon him? Was his self-discipline proportioned to it? or was the use of it self-indulgence? Do you think him wilful? . . .

Ever yours very affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

Pusey's questions annoyed Newman. They appeared to imply a conception of the character of Newman's friend, and of Newman's own idea of what was involved in loyalty to the English Church, which assured him that Pusey must be the mouthpiece of some one else.

¹ On May 5, 1836, the majority for censuring Dr. Hampden had been 380 in a House of 568.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Aug. 20, 1842.

Who has *put you up* to write to me about —? If you knew him you would see that the questions you ask are unappropriate. He is a very amiable fellow, sincerely humble, and ‘indulges’ himself in nothing *but* in self-discipline (which I do not deny may be an *unallowable* indulgence). However, when he had been here some weeks, poor fellow, his mind got unsettled again, and I gave him to this very day to make it up by, whether he would promise to put aside the whole subject for three years. *This he has done—*

(Sunday, Oriel [I do not forget to-morrow¹])—and though I feel the trial is but beginning, he can do no more than promise. Please do not say a word of this to any one, else I am giving explanations through you to parties who have less confidence in my faithfulness to my office in the Church than you have. . . .

Aug. 21, 1842.

P.S.—Ward was the sole and absolute cause of —’s surrendering himself. Manning had totally failed. I had failed also, and quite despaired. Last Wednesday I told him that he must decide by Saturday. *He* proposed going to Ward—at first I doubted; when he pressed it, I let him go. Ward completely satisfied him in the course of an hour, and he wanted to make the promise at once, but Ward said he had better stay till Saturday to try himself. He could not give me any account of what Ward said—only said that the views were ‘quite new to him.’

The resettlement of Newman’s friend was thus effected from an unexpected quarter. Pusey felt bound to make something like an apology. He had not been able to help doing what he did in questioning Newman.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[Margate], Aug. 22, 1842.

Thank you very much for your full explanations. I asked the questions about — for a person for whom it was really worth asking, but I cannot say any more without committing others. Of course I will not repeat anything you say about —. The person was only afraid that you did not express as distinctly as you felt the duty of abiding by our Church; people about you had given him this impression generally, not, of course, that he was prying or suspicious, but it had somehow been forced upon him. I had spoken plainly, but I asked you these questions in order to be able to give a definite answer from yourself. There was a further practical reason which I cannot tell. There really was no suspiciousness, nor anything in a wrong spirit. . . .

¹ Aug. 22, Dr. Pusey’s birthday.

You must not be pained at a vague sort of uncomfortableness. All confidence seemed to undergo a shock about the time Mr. S. went from us. Everybody almost suspected everyone. I found that I had added to, or perhaps occasioned, much of the suspiciousness by my visits to the convents. I found near friends suspecting me. People do not know what to think when they are in a panic. Then too I have doubted whether some (I know not who) who see you and speak of you understand you (I do not mean Ward). But somehow Ward's distinction between you and myself is supposed to mean more than it did, and (strange to say) to imply that you are less satisfied that our Church is a part of the Catholic Church than myself. This notion seems to be encouraged somehow, I do not know how. The Roman Catholics are very diligent in circulating it, and use it as an argument to draw over those who are wavering. They give out (and even eminent persons, I believe, among them) that you and a body of others are coming over. I know not how much this has to do with the uncomfortableness afloat; it was said to me last term by a Head of a House, who professed himself glad to be reassured by me, but I had it more directly from Roman Catholics. I only say this, because this state of suspiciousness is a painful one, and it is painful to be suspected, though you have been so long accustomed to commit your innocence to God.

The whole amount of fear, in the case which occasioned my writing, was lest, by not using definite language as to our own Church, you should miss giving the direction to the minds which look up to you which you would desire. I appealed to your Advent Sermons, which were just what he wished; only he still seemed to think that in conversation people took a different impression, or he would have liked something published with your name; but there is your letter to the Bishop, which at the time I forgot. Your articles in the *British Critic* he appreciated and valued.

Newman's answer shows, on the one hand, the misgivings about his position which he unhappily could not disguise from himself, and, on the other, his sensitive apprehension of what was involved in loyalty to the English Church.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, in fest. S. Bart. [1842].

. . . I am not at all surprised or hurt at persons being suspicious of my *faith* in the English Church. I think they have cause to do so. It would not be honest in me not to confess, when persons have a right to ask me, that I have misgivings, not about her Orders, but about her ordinary enjoyment of the privileges they confer while she is so separate from Christendom, so tolerant of heresy. (Do you see that the Bishop of Jerusalem has been allowing an unconverted Jew to lead

extempore prayer in his house and presence?) But I think few people have any right to know my opinion.

What I *was* hurt about, was, as I said, that persons should think me capable of *holding an office* in the Church, and yet countenancing and living familiarly with those who were seceding from it. I do not see how this could be without treachery. The very fact that I hold a living ought to show people that I am necessarily in the *service* of the English Church.

Commenting on the foregoing admission by Newman of his misgivings and their grounds, Pusey anxiously replies :—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[Margate, undated, end of Aug., 1842.]

One must fear that very many, through misbelief or unbelief, do lose much of the privilege of the Holy Communion in our Church; and yet it seems as though to pious Low Church people what is lacking in knowledge is often supplied by love, and that the grace of the Sacrament is conveyed to them, even while they know not what It is. I have been struck, at least, by finding what a deep and real joy It has been to many who are least informed, who knew not What they were receiving, and yet coming to their Lord, had that saying fulfilled in them, 'He that cometh unto Me.' I hope, then, that what you mean is, that you have misgivings lest much of the privileges of the Sacraments be forfeited by individuals in our Church through the heresy tolerated in her, not that they are, through the condition of our Church, withheld from any who believe, and seek to live aright. . . .

The correspondence marks a point in the divergence which was gradually taking place in their minds respecting the claims of the English Church. Pusey by turns endeavoured to arrest it, and to shut his eyes to it; but there it was—full of portent for the coming years.

The summer months produced a long succession of Episcopal Charges, which were little calculated to relieve Pusey's anxieties. Newman, who had an eye to all that was going on, kept Pusey duly informed of them. On August 20th he writes :—

'The Bishop of Worcester's Charge is the worst specimen of all. He says the Rubrics must not be adhered to with "Chinese" exactness.'

Four days later :—

'You see two more Bishops, Hereford and Worcester, have joined the growing *consensus* of the Bench against Catholic truth. Hereford

spoke of the "Nicene" era as "semi-heathen" till some one reminded him that the Apostles' age was *wholly* heathen. Neither Charge can have any weight, except with those who consider that the consensus of the Bishops is the voice of the Church.'

In two cases the more prominent Episcopal assailants of the Tracts were removed by death. At the beginning of the year, Dr. Shuttleworth, Bishop of Chichester, and in August, Dr. Dickinson, Bishop of Meath, died before delivering their Charges. 'What a most solemn, sobering event,' wrote Newman to Pusey on Jan. 13th, 'the Bishop of Chichester's death is! I don't think anything has happened in my time which has so struck me.' Seven months later: 'You saw the Bishop of Meath's death, Dr. Dickinson¹, your antagonist. He was to have delivered a Charge against the Tracts the day he died.' Pusey thought he saw in these solemn events a token of God's presence with the Church of England: 'It is awfully strange how two of these Charges were withheld. It looks like, "Thus far shalt thou go."'

The Episcopal Charges would have had comparatively little effect if only Pusey and Newman had been still of one mind. But Newman has told us that from the date of the Jerusalem Bishopric he was, as regards membership with the English Church, 'on his deathbed².' He had shifted his ground in defending the position of the English Church. He 'sunk his theory to a lower level.' What could be said

'after the Bishops' Charges? after the Jerusalem "abomination"? Well, this could be said: still we were not petty; we could not be as if we had never been a Church; we were "Samaria." This then was that lower level on which I placed myself, and all who felt with me at the end of 1841³.'

Among these Pusey could not be reckoned. He did not think of the English Church as 'Samaria'; and yet he was unwilling to admit even to himself, and much more to admit to others, the growing difference with his friend. His love for, and personal loyalty to Newman, his hope

¹ He was the author of 'The Pope's Pastoral Letter.'

² 'Apologia,' p. 257.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

against appearances that Newman was still where he had been until 1841, prevented his answering appeals to explain himself; since such explanation might too easily have increased the existing divergence from his friend. Yet there was no mistaking the significance of such an appeal as Hook had made to him in the early part of the year. It represented a temper of mind which might have been conciliated at the time, but which, if treated with apparent reserve or neglect, threatened serious alienation:—

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Jan. 31, 1842.

I do wish you and Newman would just point out to us what is your standing-point—the position you have decided to take. At present the whole system seems so nearly that of attacking the Church of England and palliating the Church of Rome. If you will take your ground on the Caroline divines, or anywhere, so that it may be fixed, men's minds would be calmed. Alas! now I see and hear from all quarters of a most strong reaction against Church principles, and of indiscretions on the part of our friends. Oh! for a few months of peace.

I am your truly affectionate friend,

W. F. HOOK.

This difficulty was increased when Roman Catholics began to express to him the hope, natural enough to persons in their position, that the Movement would lead people to join the Roman Church. Not only undistinguished members of the Roman Church, but theologians like Döllinger—at that time little thinking that he would ever be alienated from the See of St. Peter by definitions of an impossible infallibility attaching to it—wrote to Pusey in this sense:—

DR. IGN. VON DÖLLINGER TO E. B. P.

[Translation.]

VERY HONOURED SIR,

Bad Kreuth, Sept. 4, 1842.

. . . I dare say I do not tell you anything new when I mention that in Germany also all eyes—of Protestants as well as of Roman Catholics—are turned in fear and hope towards Oxford; it becomes more and more probable that your great and memorable movement will have essential influence also on the course of religious development

in Germany. As a matter of course, and you will most likely not expect it otherwise, all the voices of German Protestantism express their most decided disapproval of your direction, while on the Catholic side a proportionally increasing sympathy is shown. I have read almost all your works, most particularly also your Letter to the Bishop of Oxford and what you have written about Tract 90, and though some passages were painful to me or seemed to me erroneous, there is *far more* in them with which I can entirely agree, nay—what seemed to be written out of my own soul. With the greatest interest I read, I even devour, the numbers of the *British Critic* as soon as they arrive here; also the works of Newman, and the excellent book by Faber, ‘Sights and Thoughts,’ &c. From all these writings I retain such an impression, that I feel almost inclined to call out: ‘Tales cum sitis, jam nostri estis,’ or if you like it better thus: ‘Tales cum sitis, jam vestri sumus!’ Everything, with us in Germany also, points more and more distinctly towards a great religious *Consummatio*, towards a drawing together of kindred elements, and of a corresponding separation of those which are not akin. Once more, and most probably for the last time, the attempt is now made in Germany to assert again the old Protestantism of the Symbolical Books; but the Union, established by Prussia, has deeply wounded it, and on the other side the corrosive poison of Hegel’s Pantheism, in union with the destructive criticism of the Bible, is spreading incessantly. Even the Protestant theological faculty at Tübingen, formerly the chief support of the still positive Christian Theology in Protestant Germany, is now almost completely in the hands of Hegel’s party! . . .

May I now ask you to express to Mr. Newman in my name the especial respect which his writings have raised in me? Gladden me very soon again with a letter, and be convinced that every commission from you will always be a source of pleasure for me.

Entirely yours,

I. DÖLLINGER.

The unexpected death of Dr. Arnold on Sunday, June 12, 1842, withdrew one of the keenest opponents of the Oxford Movement, whose character invested his opposition with high moral interest. This is not the place to discuss either his influence on religion in England, or the consequences of his somewhat early death. It was however, as a matter of course, followed by a proposal to erect a memorial to him of some kind; and Newman, Pusey, and Keble, as old Fellows of Oriel, discussed whether they could consistently subscribe. Keble was first applied to. It was characteristic of the generosity of the three friends, that in

spite of the somewhat outrageous imputations and attacks Dr. Arnold had made on them in his famous article, they were not unwilling to subscribe to a memorial so long as it did not identify the University with Arnold's Latitudinarian Theology. They fully appreciated Arnold's work in improving Public School education. They were ready to support a memorial at Rugby. In the event, the difficulty was postponed. The money subscribed was applied to the foundation of scholarships to be enjoyed by Dr. Arnold's sons in succession; and, in 1850, it was divided between the erection of a new library at Rugby and the foundation of the Arnold Historical Essay at Oxford. When at last the acceptance of the Oxford prize was proposed to Convocation, the serious events of 1845 had rendered those who might have deprecated it powerless for all purposes of organized resistance.

The year 1842 closed amidst increasing difficulties and apprehensions of difficulty. The Heads of Houses took up a position more and more hostile. The Provost of Oriel refused to give the necessary college testimonials for candidates for Holy Orders to young men of the highest character, except on the condition of rejecting Tract 90. Another Head of a House, who had known Pusey well, refused to look at him when they met in the street. Another declined to receive into his college any of the young men to whom Pusey had offered board and lodgings. These things would not have mattered, if there had not been an anxiety of a graver kind. Newman resolved publicly to retract the 'declamation' in which he had indulged against the Church of Rome. He called it declamation as distinct from argument; it expressed unreasoning passion rather than deliberate judgments of the mind, and a man need not be on his way to Rome, or other than an attached member of the English Church, in order to regret language which, however sanctioned by the usages of bygone controversy, is condemned by most sensitive consciences—whatever be their religious convic-

tions—in our own day. But Newman had in his published writings called the Church of Rome a ‘lost Church’; he had spoken of the ‘Papal apostasy’; he had feared that the Council of Trent had bound the Roman Communion to the ‘cause of Antichrist’; it was ‘infected with heresy,’ ‘spell-bound as if by an evil spirit’; in the seat of St. Peter ‘the evil spirit had throned itself and ruled.’ There are other expressions to the same effect, which a sensible and reverent man might well wish not to have employed without thereby implying a tendency to Roman Catholicism¹.

Newman has, in later years², assigned to this retraction a place in the Romeward movement of his mind; but at the time it need not have implied more than a desire to review ill-considered or intemperate language. Newman announced the publication to Pusey.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore,

The Martyrdom, [Jan. 30], 1843.

I very much fear you will think it necessary that I should ask your pardon for something I have been doing, as if it were rash—but my conscience would not stand out. You have before now truly said that *I* have said far severer things against Rome than yourself—and I am so sure of it that I have thought I ought to unsay them. This I did about six weeks or two months ago, and I believe what I have said is in the periodicals—but I have not seen it yet. I have said *nothing* of course on *doctrinal* points, but only as to *abuse*. You stand on very different grounds, and have to unsay nothing. I would not take advice of any one, because I wished to have the sole responsibility. . . .

Pusey’s love of, and trust in, Newman led him to make the best of an act which, had he been consulted, he would have deprecated.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Christ Church,

Feast of the Purification, 1843.

I always think you have good reason for what you do and should not venture to think you ‘rash.’ In the present case, Ward

¹ Letter to the *Conservative Journal*, Feb. 1843.

² ‘Apologia,’ pp. 325-333.

had, through F. Barker, prepared me to see something which would give me subject for reflection, but I was not surprised. It seemed to me simply that you thought a certain tone of speaking against Rome or Roman doctrine wrong, and that you wished publicly to avow what you thought wrong. But it seemed also as though you did not think any form of speaking against Roman doctrine wrong (as Ward, I believe, does) since you did not retract certain expressions in the same sentences, which did speak against it, but more gently.

As you have mentioned the subject, I may as well say, what does perplex some friends (I do not mean of Jelf's or Hook's school), and to which Ward gives an edge which you did not mean. This is in the last sentences, in which you do not speak of Anglican doctrine as decidedly tenable, but only as the *strongest* position against Roman doctrine, as the only tenable position, if any be so. And you expressly say no more than a Roman Catholic does. You probably know that there are those who watch at every expression of yours to make it as Romanizing, or as mistrustful of our position in the abstract, as they can, so to identify you with themselves. I do not mean by this mistrust, merely the doubt whether we can, while insulated, be altogether in a healthy condition (for this I do not think myself), but the doubt whether our Church will hold. Such a doubt I conceive you would not have expressed, it being contrary to your principle to express doubts, while only such. However, I fear some friends will be dismayed.

Friends are also perplexed as to the form of your letter, the singularity of your apparently writing to a newspaper (since they have headed it 'to the Editor'), the distance of date, so that some have denied its genuineness, others think it must have some further meaning than they see. Its form throws an air of mystery about it. I wish it had rather been in the *British Critic*, and perhaps it might yet be thrown into a form, removing those perplexities, in the next number. I fear we must make up our mind for perplexity, but good must come in the end from an act of conscience. I did not for a moment wish it otherwise.

Ever yours very affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

This letter distressed Newman, for he had read it hurriedly, and overlooked the fact that Pusey was not taking the part of unfriendly critics, but pleading for puzzled friends.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Friday, Feb. 3, 1843.

I am very much vexed that you should have heard of the matter you write about from any one but me, but it is not my fault.

A letter, containing the proof, instead of coming to me, got into

Bloxam's hands, who knew nothing about it, and he, most incautiously, instead of sending it to me, published it to the Oxford world, while I knew not that others knew it. Else, Ward knew no more of it than any one else.

Nothing was further from my wish than to imply any doubt about the Anglican theory—but I had rather not speak at all on a subject, which I have done as a matter of conscience. If persons will criticize the *mode*, let them. They have criticized me too often already, for me to be called on to justify myself to them. If you are asked, the simple case is that you knew nothing about it. Please say I am obstinate and dangerous and impracticable.

P.S.—If all the Bishops *will* censure me personally, it is not wonderful (by-the-by) that I have my *quid pro quo*: I have no character to lose.

Pusey had no difficulty in setting matters right.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Saturday morning, Feb. 4, 1843.

MY VERY DEAR NEWMAN,,

I must have written very awkwardly and implied a good deal which I did not mean; for I have given you pain somehow. What I wrote was from myself; any perplexities I alluded to were from persons who look up to you unfeignedly and have been formed by you in God's Hands.

I am sorry that I alluded to W[ard]; but I did not refer to what you allude to, of which I know nothing.

I really do not think you know how much people love and respect you, and what sympathy they feel with you. I should never have written about persons who 'criticize'; it was on account of persons who were perplexed; persons younger than yourself, who look up to you and did not know how much you meant.

I felt satisfied that you did not mean to imply any doubt about Anglican views; nor, do I think, ought others; I only meant that some would have liked to have known more explicitly that you did not.

Forgive my troubling you thus; do not think or say any more of what I have said; I have wished I could have had some share of your trials. But I have not been worthy of them.

If I may say so, God bless you in them.

Your very affectionate and grateful friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Newman replied by sending a copy of his 'Retraction' to Pusey. He would not write to Keble: he had not heart for it. Pusey, he thought, did not understand one of his

greatest troubles, which was that younger persons trusted him who should not. 'Intimate friends,' he added, 'have made it a reproach against me that I use words in my writings which are formally true in *my* sense, but which in their effect are far more anti-Roman, "keeping the word of promise to the ear," but "breaking it to the hope."' Pusey's anxiety was to rally him from this despondency, and to restore him to confidence in his position and his work.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

MY VERY DEAR NEWMAN,

Monday [Feb. 6, 1843].

I am very sorry to find that, if I understand your note right, you feel circumstances connected with your letter so much. I am writing to K. and can say all you would say. Indeed all will be well, though, at first, pain must attend all sacrifice and acts of conscience in proportion as they are such. Anyhow, young men ought to trust you, and must trust you, and cannot help it; it is plainly part of God's appointment; He draws people around you, in the first instance against your will, in a way in which they are drawn around no other; and since such is His will, it will be yours to accept it. I suppose if it were not a cross to you, it would not be so, or be safe. But since it is so, you will accept it and all it involves.

Ever yours very affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

I do not think, if such be your feeling, that you need think that you have put K. in a perplexing position, as though he ought to do the same as you have done. On looking back to some things which I have written, I certainly am shocked to find the words 'Rome, a seat of Anti-Christ,' though never used in its strongest sense. Still, unless some fitting opportunity offered, I should not do anything, thinking it probably forgotten, and to go out of my way to do it now, would look something forced and systematic. It seems to me both right in you to do it, because it was in your mind; and right in me not to do it, because I could not do it naturally.

To Keble, Pusey expressed his fear that Newman was 'sadly harassed by the condemnation of Bishops, and by things said on one side and the other, so that something soothing might be of use to him.' He added:—

'Feb. 6, 1843.

'N.'s letter seems to me only a withdrawing of language which always surprised me, as being so much bolder than any I should have

ventured upon. It seemed to me to belong to a mind of so much greater power and grasp than mine that he could venture to speak what was altogether beyond me. The letter is evidently a withdrawal of a certain *tone* of speaking only, since, in Tract 38, he leaves unnoticed language in which he used milder terms (I suppose the whole passage was the adoption of Bishop Hall's language). Altogether I do not see that people ought to be disturbed about it. C. Marriott said, he was "very glad of it."

A last illustration of the troubles of this period may be supplied by Pusey's letter to the Rev. W. Gresley. In this letter we see the equable spirit, based on his firm confidence in God, which enabled Pusey to hold his ground in a period of such weary anxiety. Mr. Gresley had written about a person who was tempted to go over to the Church of Rome.

E. B. P. TO REV. W. GRESLEY.

Christ Church, Feb. 11, 1843.

Your letter, though very painful, was welcome. It is very sad to see persons, who might do the most good in our Church, tempted to leave it; but it is a trial which they and we have to go through. Stirring times are times of trial. God purifies the Church by shaking it. He says 'I will shake the earth,' and when He shaketh-it, some will be terrified, not awed only, others will be shaken out. We have been brought to see some of our own practical deficiencies; it was necessary to our restoration; but it requires often a very submissive heart and firm faith to see and feel these keenly, and yet not be shaken. And so they are continually the most serious minds which are shaken. And we have much need to pray for each other, when the foundations are thus shaken. Yet most earnest-minded persons have stood at last, and so, I trust, will your friend.

If I may offer you any advice, I should say that I have found in such cases the most efficacious way to be, first to find out whether there be not something amiss in themselves which gave them the first bias, e.g. if they have exposed themselves to influences which were not intended for them, as the visiting of convents, or institutions, or attending services out of curiosity, or trying to form an estimate of the holiness of different portions of the Church, to which no one is equal; or again, entering into controversy for which they were not fitted; or again, speaking lightly or rashly against things in their own Church, without due humility. I have generally found, in such cases, that people have been able to trace their first bias towards leaving their Church to something wrong in themselves.

Then, generally speaking, to persons in this frame of mind, anything

said against the Church of Rome is rather irritating and does harm. It would also mostly lead them into topics of controversy of which they are not judges. Controversy too is a bad element.

But what is really calculated to win and to awe people are the manifest tokens that God is present with our Church, raising her from the dust, restoring her, calling her and her sons to more devoted service, fitting her, as a whole, for some higher office, which He has in store for her. No one can doubt this. All eyes everywhere are on our Church. All, however they interpret it, acknowledge that there is a great work going on within her. It is going on everywhere, in all her parts; in Scotland, America, all her colonies; one may say in every district and village a work of restoration is manifestly going on. It is one work everywhere; the same course and the same difficulties, the same kind of restoration, the same longings for a higher life, the same doctrines and practices anew brought into life; the same thwarting from the world or from imperfect religionism, and the same gradual winning of and from them and leavening of them: the same trials of those who, whether laymen or clergy, bear witness to the truth, the same temptations to leave the Church for Romanism; so that at the foot of the Alleghanies you might fancy yourself so far (an American said to me) at Oxford. All this and so much more is an indication that God is acting upon our Church as a whole; wherever He is leading the Church, people must feel He is leading her as a Church; so that one who is least disposed to bear with our actual defects, and whose centre of unity is Rome, said, 'elsewhere it seems as though it were ordered that individuals should be gathered in one by one; with our Church God seems to be dealing as a whole.' And this is the more manifest, since it is not that certain individuals are being led in a certain way; the work which is going on is varied, different in degree, often in form; amidst opposition, opposers and opposed are being led alike; those who are unconsciously opposing truth, are being won by the truth, which in the error they mistake for it, they oppose: or while opposing one truth, they are caught by another; or their minds are being deepened, and prepared for it unconsciously. Or, to look to acts, what new life do such large plans as the Bishop of London's Metropolis Churches Fund, the Colonial Bishoprics, imply in the Church; or again the restoration of Daily Services, of more frequent Communion, of Fasting, even of single Prayers, as the Church Militant, the Offertory. It seems as if everywhere the Church were awakening, and putting on her jewels, and preparing to meet her Lord. Everything is restoration and life, even amid seeming death.

But where restoration and life are, there is the presence of the Holy Spirit, the restoring look of her Lord. And where her Lord is, there it is safe to be, and unsafe to leave. In the words of Mr. Newman's awing appeals, 'If in your Church you have found Christ, why seek Him elsewhere? If you leave the place where He has manifested Himself to you, are you sure that you shall find Him?' Where the

Lord has a work to be done, there every one [is] in his place and order, however humbly he may think of himself or his office. No one knows what he may not disarrange by leaving it. One may with reverence say, 'Except these abide in the ship.' They may as far as in them lies be going contrary to God and marring His work, or losing their share in it, and their crown. It is not for me to judge those who have gone from us, but in all the cases which I have known, I have seen both a wrong temper even among much good, leading them away, and in some cases, very painful ill fruits of their secession. On the other hand it is very remarkable how really earnest persons have been in great peril of going, and perhaps just been saved, and then been rooted in our Church, sometimes withheld by means preternatural, so that both those who have stayed and those who have gone have been tokens the more where duty lies.

I have written much of this in greater haste than I should wish, but if it can be likely to be of any use to you, pray use it as you wish.

I have more which I wished to write about what I should call specially your School, who seem to me not sufficiently alive to our actual defects and so are too apologetic, and lose influence by not admitting what ought plainly to be admitted. But it may be enough to have hinted this.

Yours most faithfully,

Cathedral-time.

E. B. PUSEY.

But Pusey's confidence in the Church of England was mingled with the trouble which lay heavy on his heart. He could not but be pained by observing Newman's distress at the course which things were taking. Newman knew that Pusey felt thus, and he had tried to spare him by saying nothing about his protest against the Jerusalem Bishopric, and his retractations. But such expedients are apt to defeat their object: the heart outstrips the understanding in quick-sightedness.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Tuesday in the 3rd week in Easter,

May 2, 1843.

I wished if I could to have written a few lines to you on Easter eve. It comes heavily to me sometimes, to think that some of the miserable judgements passed upon you, and the sad want of sympathy (in some) with you (more than e. g. with myself), must at times be wearisome to you. I have wished to obtain some share of what has fallen peculiarly upon you, but I have not been worthy. I wished, in wishing you the Easter joys, which I was sure you would have, to say that I had, infinitely rather than the whole world, have all the judgements, harsh

speeches, suspicion, mistrust which have fallen upon you, only that I am not fit for them. I hoped, in whatever degree you may at times feel them, which I can only conjecture, it might be cheering that one who loves you thinks them a portion of your treasure.

Ever yours most affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

Pusey's wish was to be fulfilled sooner than he anticipated. Before a fortnight had passed from the date of this letter he had preached the condemned sermon.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PUSEY'S CONDEMNATION — SERMON ON THE EUCHARIST — DELATION — CONDEMNATION WITHOUT A HEARING — FAILURE OF ATTEMPTS TO SECURE RECANTATION — SENTENCE OF SUSPENSION — PUSEY'S PROTEST — WEIGHTY REMONSTRANCES — SERMON PUBLISHED — ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN LEGAL REDRESS.

1843.

ON the fourth Sunday after Easter, May 14, 1843, Pusey preached at Christ Church, before the University, the sermon which, in its practical effects upon himself and the Church at large, though not in its theological and spiritual power, was the most important sermon of his life. It will be necessary to enter in some detail into the circumstances of the condemnation of this sermon by the authorities of the University. The story has never yet been told.

Nowadays, and in calmer times, the fact that a sermon had been condemned by certain Doctors of no great theological eminence, might produce no marked effect in the Church at large. But in 1843 the whole Church of England viewed the theological decisions of the ordinary University officials as utterances of grave ecclesiastical importance. Many circumstances too, had as we have seen, been helping to excite the popular mind in a manner adverse to the Tractarian leaders. In consequence, the fact that one of Pusey's sermons was thought worthy of condemnation by a University tribunal, so soon after Newman had incurred the censure of the Hebdomadal Board for Tract 90, materially affected the attitude of many Churchmen towards the Tractarians. Their opponents felt justified in more vigorous action. Those who knew little

about the sermon were excited and alarmed ; while Bishops, who might have allayed the excitement, were tempted then, as they were not unfrequently afterwards, to fall in with popular feeling. At any rate they felt themselves unable any longer to resist and control what they took to be the current of Church opinion. And the strange mystery which the Oxford Doctors succeeded in throwing round their quasi-judicial proceedings only intensified the ill effects of their unjustifiable sentence.

Pusey's public teaching followed a course or system, instinctively¹ rather than designedly. The pietism of Spener had left a mark upon him which lasted ; he began with the needs of the human soul. 'He has devoted himself,' writes Mr. J. B. Mozley, 'to the consideration of Sin : its awful nature : its antagonism to God : its deep seat in our nature : the remedy provided for it by our Lord's meritorious sufferings and death, and the application of that remedy in the ordinance of Baptism. . . . Baptism is a new birth, an entrance into a new world, the communication of a new nature. And sin is in Baptism pardoned. . . . But then comes the fact that men live after Baptism : sin comes up again, and has to be dealt with again. . . . Here the easy way to peace ends, and a rough and difficult one begins².'

It was in the development of the line of teaching thus based on the double foundation of Revealed Truth and personal experience, that Pusey wrote his sermon, 'The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent.' 'When,' he afterwards remarked, 'people said that I had scared them about post-baptismal sin, I was led to preach a course of sermons on Comforts to the Penitent. Of these the sermon on the Holy Eucharist was one. It was a singular case of mistaking what people's feelings would be. For I chose the Holy Eucharist as the subject at which they would be less likely to take offence than at Absolution. But we know what happened.'

¹ The *immediate* reason for Pusey's writing his tract on Baptism was that one of his pupils was on the point of leaving the Church for Dissent on

account of the teaching of the Prayer-book.

² Mozley's 'Essays,' ii, 158-9.

As the title implies, it is a practical, and in its design uncontroversial, sermon, having for its object not the formal statement of disputed or forgotten truth, but the encouragement of a certain class of souls. As Pusey said of it sixteen years afterwards :—

‘It implied rather than stated even the doctrine of the Real Objective Presence, and was written chiefly in the language of the Fathers. Its one object was to inculcate the love of our Redeemer for us sinners in the Holy Eucharist, both as a Sacrament and as a commemorative Sacrifice. As a Sacrament, in that He, our Redeemer, God and Man, vouchsafes to be “our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy Sacrament.” As a commemorative Sacrifice, in that He enables us therein to plead to the Father that one meritorious Sacrifice on the Cross, which He, our High Priest, unceasingly pleads in His own Divine Person in Heaven¹.’

How the Eucharist is a support and enlargement of life in Christ is shown from the types, the prophecies, and the direct language of our Lord which refers to it. It has this virtue because in it Christ is present, in the presence of His Flesh and Blood, which are indissolubly united to His Eternal Godhead. It brings comfort to the penitent as well as strength to the saint, because He is the Redeemer, Who forgives the sins of all who approach Him with faith. This, it is shown, is the teaching of Scripture, Fathers, Liturgies; and the sermon concludes with some practical considerations, addressed to the Chapter of Christ Church, which at that time only sanctioned a monthly celebration of the Eucharist in their cathedral, and to younger people who might be unduly impatient for the realization of a privilege which implied higher spiritual attainments than they had as yet reached. The only approach to theological controversy in the sermon occurs in a passage in which Pusey incidentally puts aside Transubstantiation as an explanation of the mode of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist². To quote his own comment thirty-one years later: ‘Having disclaimed at the outset of my sermon all controversy, by saying that “if we are wise we shall never ask how they can be elements of this world, and yet His

¹ Preface to ‘Univ. Sermons,’ vol. i. p. vi.

² p. 7.

very Body and Blood," and so in fact disclaimed Transubstantiation' (which undertakes to answer this question), 'I thought I might afterwards use freely the language of the Fathers, which I chose in preference to my own. And it never occurred to me that any question would be raised on the subject.' Pusey's mind had long moved amidst high sacramental truths, and he was perfectly clear that the teaching of the Church of England on this subject was not at variance with that of the 'ancient Fathers and Catholic Bishops' to whom the framers of the Anglican rule of doctrine appealed. Nothing therefore was further from his thoughts than that the truths with which he wished to console those whom he had roused to a deep sense of sin should appear heterodox or even startling to any of his hearers.

J. B. Mozley has described the scene and its consequences with his wonted vividness:—

'The audience listened with the attention it always does to Dr. Pusey, and then the audience went away. There were the usual effects of edification and admiration produced. The remarks upon it were pretty much the same as usual: it was pronounced a useful sermon, an eloquent sermon, a striking sermon, a beautiful sermon. Some said it was a long sermon, others that it was not longer than usual. It was, of course, said to contain high doctrinal views on the subject treated of; but as all Dr. Pusey's sermons contain high views, there was nothing to draw attention in this remark. In short, it was one of Dr. Pusey's sermons; the audience recognized that fact, went home, were perfectly at their ease, thought nothing more about it,—the reverential impression excepted, of course, which that preacher's discourses always leave on the mind,—when all on a sudden comes, like a clap of thunder on the ear, the news that the Board of Heresy is summoned to sit on Dr. Pusey!'

When the sermon was over the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Wynter, walked away from the Cathedral with the Provost of Oriel, Dr. Hawkins, and what passed and what followed had better be described in the Vice-Chancellor's own language in a manuscript account of the whole proceedings, which has been placed at the disposal of the writer by the great courtesy of Dr. Wynter's representatives.

¹ 'Essays by J. B. Mozley, D.D.,' ii. pp. 150, 151.

'We both expressed ourselves startled and dissatisfied with the statements made with regard to the Eucharist, but *we both agreed that it would be inexpedient to take any public notice of it, being convinced that the writer would be able by ingenuity to evade any direct charge of heterodoxy.* In the afternoon of the same day I had occasion to know that the sermon had been much remarked upon, and that it had awakened in the minds of many persons grave doubts whether it was in conformity with the doctrine of the Church of England. On the following day (15th) I had further reason for believing not only that it had been much disapproved, but that it would probably be proposed to me to deal with it under the statute *de Concionibus*. Accordingly on Tuesday, the 16th, I received a visit from the Margaret Professor of Divinity, the sole object of which was to request that I would take measures for putting in force the statute *de Concionibus*, in regard to Dr. Pusey's sermon, the Margaret Professor himself and many others, as he told me, entertaining strong suspicion that it would be found to contain doctrine not in accordance with that of our Church. In reply to this request I gave, as far as I recollect, a promise to put the statute in force.'

It is impossible to suppose that Dr. Faussett did not know the terms of the statute of 1836, by which, in token of its disapproval of Dr. Hampden's teaching, the University had transferred from Dr. Hampden to the holder of his own professorship the duty of being one of the judges who were to decide upon the orthodoxy of a delated sermon¹. Since he was bound to occupy this position, nothing could have been more indecent than that Dr. Faussett should have thus put himself forward as Pusey's accuser. It is the first of the series of most extraordinary blunders which were committed in the course of these proceedings. When, however, such a complaint was made to him by a Divinity Professor, the Vice-Chancellor, quite apart from all other considerations, could not but send for the sermon. It would have been difficult perhaps for a Vice-Chancellor in those days to tell a Professor of Divinity, in the words of the statute, that his 'ground of suspicion' was not 'reasonable²,' a course which according to the statute was the only alternative.

¹ 'Ne quid vero detrimenti capiat interea Universitas, Professoris ejusdem vicibus fungantur alii . . . et in consilio de Concionibus habendo praelector dominae Margaretæ comi-

tissae Richmondiae.'

² Tit. xvi. § 11 'ab alio aliquo rationabilem suspicionis causam afferente.'

THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR TO E. B. P.

St. John's College, May 17, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been called upon to request from you a copy of the sermon which you preached before the University on Sunday last. I do not know that at this period of time it is necessary that I should express my own opinion upon it. But in candour and fairness I think it right to confess that its general scope and certain particular passages have awakened in my mind painful doubts with regard to its strict conformity to the doctrines of the reformed Church of England.

I have therefore to request that you will have the goodness to send me a copy of your sermon for the purpose of dealing with it as I am directed by the statute, Tit. xvi. § 11.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

P. WYNTER, V.C.

The Rev. the Regius Professor of Hebrew.

Pusey replied as follows:—

Christ Church, May 17.

MY DEAR SIR,

I would have sent you the sermon, but that I thought it might save trouble if I were to add some references in some places to mark that I was using the language of the Fathers, not my own. Of course I shall make no other alterations.

Yours very faithfully,

E. B. PUSEY.

In reply to a further letter on the same day, asking, because of the state of his health, for a little more time to complete the references, the Vice-Chancellor wrote with characteristic courtesy:—

MY DEAR DR. PUSEY,

St. John's College, May 17, 1843.

I grieve to hear that you are still suffering from illness. I beg that you will not risk any accession of it by making any unnecessary dispatch in completing the references to your sermon. I shall not look for it until the time you mention, two or three days hence; nor so soon if the exertion which you deem it necessary to make should be likely to retard your restoration to health.

I am, yours very faithfully,

P. WYNTER.

On the same evening Pusey wrote to Keble:—

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Wednesday evening [May 17, 1843].

. . . I wish just now to tell you of my troubles. I have learnt this afternoon that some one has applied to the V.-C. to put in force

the statute of the six or seven Doctors against me for a sermon last Sunday on the Holy Eucharist, and he has sent for a copy of it. There is nothing to be done for me, but to pray God that it turn to the good of His Church, and of myself. I do not know whether it is generally known, so do not say anything of it, until you hear it from others : for there is no need in anticipating excitement : we have too much of it.

Ever yours very affectionately and gratefully,

E. B. P.

And on the following morning to Newman :—

Thursday morning, May 18 [1843].

You will be very sorry that the storm has at last reached me. God guide me through it, for it may be a heavy one, not for myself, but for its effects on others. I have asked the Vice-Chancellor for two or three days that I might put references to my sermon. I thought this best, that they might not be exposed unconsciously to condemn e.g. St. Cyril of Alexandria when they thought they were only condemning me. You will be glad to hear that I did not pass a more feverish night than usual, nor have I more fever this morning. No one can help me at present : when I have had my sermon transcribed I shall be glad to send it to you, to consult you about the defence. I am quite sure there is nothing against the Church of England ; but what my judges may think, I know not. I heard from the V.-C. yesterday afternoon. Do not name it, except to Copeland and Marriott as a secret, unless it is known, which I do not know. There may be excitement enough by-and-by, so one would not anticipate it.

During the remainder of the week Pusey was engaged, so far as his bad health would permit, in selecting passages from the Fathers to illustrate his sermon ; the whole was copied out in a legible hand, apparently by W. J. Copeland. On Monday, May 22, this copy, with full references, was sent to the Vice-Chancellor, accompanied by an explanatory letter.

E. B. P. TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

MY DEAR MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

I send a copy of my sermon, as the statute directs, hoping that it will be more legible than the original would have been. I have read it over and corrected it, and (as the statute requires) declare it to be an authentic copy. The phrases enclosed in brackets were not delivered, the sermon being already long, and so form no part of the inquiry, but I thought it more authentic to have them inserted (the transcriber omitted them by mistake), although I believe one only,

containing passages from the Fathers, contains doctrine. The words [in a manner], p. 7, were inserted after preaching the sermon, before I had your note, to make the translation perhaps more correct.

I have taken the longer time which you kindly allowed, since there has been little in each day in which I could thus employ myself.

My object in inserting these passages was to show that I was not rashly using high language in speaking upon a great mystery, but that of teachers who have ever been had in honour. Indeed, I most closely followed St. Cyril of Alexandria, whom all must respect as one of the greatest defenders of sound faith, and whose Commentary on St. John has seemed to me, of all I know, to enter most deeply into the depths of that Divine Gospel. I have not however followed him alone, but other of those teachers to whom the Reformers individually, appealed, and [to whom] we have since been directed, as expositors of Holy Scripture.

I have withheld from adding more references, lest it should protract your time too much.

As you have expressed candidly your own first impressions, your kindness will not think me trespassing upon your time if I explain myself further. I felt so entirely sure that I heartily concur with the doctrine of the Church of England, I have so often and decidedly expressed my rejection of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Canon of the Council of Trent upon it, that, neither before nor after preaching my sermon, had I the slightest thought that any could arraign it as contrary to the doctrines of our Church, however people will dispute irreverently.

Allow me to say, that the more I have examined it word by word, the more convinced I am that no proposition can be formed out of it, in its real meaning, contrary to that doctrine which I hold entirely. May I explain my belief on this subject further, as it will throw light on the language of the sermon? I believe that after Consecration the Holy Elements are in their natural substances bread and wine, and yet are *also* the Body and Blood of Christ. This I believe as a mystery, which others have long ago pointed out in, and which I believe is implied by, our Liturgy and Articles. It has been explicitly stated by divines of great reputation in our Church, a few of whose words I thought it not unfit to have transcribed in some spare pages of the sermon. I hold this as a mystery, and Bp. Andrewes' words exactly convey my feeling.

I do not attempt to explain the 'how' which seems to me to have been the error of the R. C.s and the Swiss Reformers, the one holding that because it was the Body of Christ, it was not bread; the other that because it was bread, therefore it was not His Body.

I hold both, as I do the absolute fore-knowledge of God and man's free agency, without having any thought to explain how: and believe both, as Bp. Andrewes says, as a mystery.

While then I hold that they are really 'elements of this world' (as I called them in my sermon, p. 4) I feel satisfied that it is perfectly consistent with our Church to use also language speaking of them as the Body and Blood of Christ, as I feel assured she does in her Liturgy.

In this I am doing what the whole of the Fathers of the Church have done, and you, I am sure, would be sorry to set our Church and the collective Ancient Church at variance.

I was pained to hear of your first impressions: I trust however that they will be removed by a closer examination.

Should that unhappily not be the case, I may request that you will choose that course allowed by the statute which permits the accused to answer for himself.

• I pray that God may guide you: and remain,

Yours faithfully and respectfully,

E. B. PUSEY.

While Pusey was preparing to send his sermon, the Vice-Chancellor was preparing the court which was to try him.

'The delay,' writes the Vice-Chancellor, 'which Dr. Pusey requested enabled me to proceed with greater caution and deliberation in the selection of the six Doctors, the tribunal which the statute appointed for the disposal of such cases. In consequence of the incapacity of the Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Hampden, occasioned by the disabling statute of 1836, the Margaret Professor, as a matter of course, acted in his place; and yet one of the complaints made against me was, that I had selected Dr. Pusey's accuser to be one of his judges.'

What the Vice-Chancellor here describes with singular *naïveté* as 'a matter of course,' viz. that he should appoint Dr. Pusey's accuser to be one of his judges, was, it is needless to say, looked upon by Pusey's friends, and indeed by the world at large, as a grave impropriety, which from the first he should have made every effort to avoid.

The other members of the court were Dr. Jenkyns, Master of Balliol; Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel; Dr. Symons, Warden of Wadham; Dr. Ogilvie, Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology; and Dr. Jelf, Canon of Christ Church. Upon the appointment of Dr. Hawkins, the Vice-Chancellor in his narrative observes:—

'The only opinion he had expressed to me respecting the sermon was in accordance with mine, that though highly objectionable it

might nevertheless be in all probability capable of such explanation by the writer as would relieve him from any serious consequences. It cannot therefore be true that I made choice of Dr. Hawkins as one who was already prejudiced against the sermon and had made up his mind to condemn it.'

The whole course of Dr. Hawkins's relations to the Tractarians generally, and to Dr. Pusey in particular, both before and on the present occasion, would leave it doubtful to a less interested observer whether the Provost's mind was so free from prejudice as the Vice-Chancellor confidently assumed.

That so old a friend as Dr. Jelf should have consented to sit upon the Board which tried Pusey was inevitably a matter much commented on in the University. Dr. Jelf felt it due both to Pusey and to himself that he should explain an act which could not but be painful to both of them.

REV. DR. JELF TO E. B. P.

[Christ Church], May 25, 1843.

[Private and Confidential.]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Thus much, I think, I may say without impropriety, that I never should have undertaken so invidious and painful an office (even with the hope of benefiting you, which, on the V.-C.'s suggestion, was my *sole* motive for not declining) unless from my recollection of the sermon, added to your subsequent explanations, I had entertained a confident hope that (however I might lament the tone and judgement of the sermon) I should find no doctrine there which it might be necessary to condemn.

You will recollect that only one-sixth part of the responsibility rests with me, and that a stranger (*perhaps* an enemy) might have done you more harm. At any rate I have acted to the best of my judgement, in the most painful conjuncture of my life. Whatever may come of it, I must find my consolation, under Divine grace, in the singleness of the purpose towards my friend and towards the Church. God bless you.

Ever your affectionate friend.

(Not signed.)

The Six Doctors met for the first time, under the presidency of the Vice-Chancellor, in the Delegates' Room, on Wednesday, May 24. The statute under which the pro-

ceedings were taken¹, and the statute of May 5, 1836, which made it impossible for the existing Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Hampden, to take part in the proceedings, were duly read. Then the sermon was read through; and this was followed by some desultory conversation respecting the course to be pursued. The meeting then adjourned, that its members might more carefully consider the contents of the sermon; and the Six Doctors may be presumed to have spent the next day, the Festival of the Ascension, in this employment. A letter from Pusey to his mother, on this day, suggests, among other points, an estimate of his judges which is widely different from that of the Vice-Chancellor, but in close agreement with that of the University generally.

Ascension Day, 1843.

. . . I wish, my dearest mother, you could see how perfectly calm I am about my affairs. I commit them to God and feel that they do not belong to me or affect me. In many respects, it is a very good thing that I am the person it falls upon. Some things are as adverse as possible, as that the Provost of Oriel and the Warden of Wadham are among the assistants of the Vice-Chancellor; yet Jelf does not think it hopeless since he has consented to be one. I trust in my friends' prayers and that God will defend His truth; for that only have I spoken. All my friends say that good must come out of it somehow. So I am quite at rest. It seems as if something very momentous was going on, but that I had nothing to do but to wait for it, and pray and abide, as I trust, under the shadow of His wings, and be at rest.

Be not anxious, my dearest mother: all will be right.

Ever your very affectionate and dutiful son,

E. B. PUSEY.

¹ De Concionibus, Tit. xvi. § 11: '*De offensionis et dissensionis materie in concionibus evitanda.* 1. Statutum est quod si quis pro concione aliqua, intra Universitatem ejusve praeinctum habita, quicquam doctrinae vel disciplinae Ecclesiae Anglicanae publice receptae dissonum aut contrarium, aut publica auctoritate ad tempus vel aliter prohibitum protulerit, sive protulisse ab ipso Vice-Cancellario suspectus, vel ab alio aliquo rationabilem suspicionis causam afferente delatus fuerit; quod postulanti Vice-Cancellario sive ejus deputato concionis suae verum exemplar, eisdem terminis conscriptum, virtute juramenti

tradet; vel, si praetendat se exemplar non habere, de iis de quibus suspectus vel delatus fuit directe virtute juramenti respondebit.

'2. Deinde vero Vice-Cancellarius sive ejus deputatus, verbis sensu eorum quae in quaestionem vocantur in medium prolatis et rite perpensis, adhibito consilio sex aliorum S. Theologiae Doctorum (quorum unus sit S. Theologiae Professor Regius, si concioni interfuerit), si quem criminis objecti reum invenerit, eum pro arbitrio vel a munere praedicandi intra praeinctum Universitatis suspendet, vel ad ea quae protulit recantandum adiget.'

On Saturday, May 27, the Six Doctors met again, each bringing with him a written judgment on the sermon. Jelf alone would say that 'with much that is objectionable, in tone and language, and tendency, there is nothing tangible which can be called "dissonum" to our Church's teaching; there is to my mind clearly nothing "contrarium."' The other five condemned the sermon, some in the general terms which betrayed a fatal want of familiarity with the subject, and Dr. Faussett and Dr. Hawkins with some attempt to justify their conclusion by an examination of passages. The Provost of Oriel wound up his criticism of the sermon by stating that he was

'further of opinion that the preacher did not design to oppose the doctrine of the Church of England, but was led into erroneous views and expressions, partly by a pious desire to magnify the grace of God in the Holy Eucharist, and partly by an indiscreet adoption, in its literal sense, of the highly figurative, mystical, and incautious language of certain of the old Fathers.'

Upon this, says the Vice-Chancellor,

'when each of them had delivered separately his opinion upon the sermon,—the greater number of them in writing,—I proceeded to declare that I considered Dr. Pusey guilty of the charge made against him—namely, that he had preached certain things which were either dissonant from or contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England.'

What these 'things' were was never publicly stated, and apparently for the reason that the judges were not agreed on them, and that the vague hostility to the sermon in which they were agreed would not bear general discussion.

In his letter of May 22, Pusey had requested the Vice-Chancellor to 'choose that course allowed by the statute, which permits the accused to answer for himself.' It was true that the statute did not provide in express terms that the author of a delated sermon should be heard in explanation or defence of his language, and the Vice-Chancellor appears to have considered this omission as a sufficient reason for not granting Pusey a hearing. The Vice-Chancellor would seem to have forgotten that all laws, not

excepting University Statutes, presuppose some general principles of justice; and that nothing is more contrariant to English notions of justice than that a man should be condemned unheard. It is a rule of natural reason, well expressed by Seneca in words already quoted, 'Qui statuit aliquid, parte inauditâ alterâ, æquum licet statuerit, haud æquus fuit,' and is fully recognized in our Common law. The rules, however, of the Canon law are, perhaps, still more to the purpose, since a sentence of suspension brings Pusey's case under its jurisdiction. Among many passages that might be quoted two will suffice: 'Caveant iudices Ecclesiae, ne absente eo, cujus causa ventilatur, sententiam proferant, quia irrita erit.' 'Absens nemo iudicetur: quia et Divinae et humanae leges hoc prohibent¹.'

The Vice-Chancellor cannot have been altogether unmindful of these considerations; and it would have been easy for him, as well as his duty, to have acquainted himself with the previous practice of the University of granting a hearing to those who were thus accused. Between the date of the passing of the statute *de Concionibus* and 1640, four cases are mentioned by Antony Wood; in each of them the inculpated preacher appeared in person before the Vice-Chancellor. There were at least four other cases after the Restoration, in all of which the same practice appears to have been followed. Regardless, however, both of principle and precedent, regardless of his character and his learning, Pusey was condemned without a hearing.

The Court next proceeded to discuss the penalty to be inflicted. 'It became necessary,' says the Vice-Chancellor, 'to consider what description and what degree of punishment should be awarded to the offence; and this I thought it right that I should take time to consider. And so the meeting separated.' The statute provided that the Vice-Chancellor might deal with the offender in one of two ways, namely, 'eum pro arbitrio vel a munere praedicandi intra praecinctum Universitatis suspendet, vel ad ea quae protulit recantandum adiget.'

¹ Corp. Jur. Can., ed. 1879, vol. i. pp. 530-4.

The Vice-Chancellor, then, had to choose between recantation and suspension; and the Six Doctors were unable to agree. One of them who had opposed a sentence of suspension during the debate, felt constrained on the following day to communicate to the Vice-Chancellor his change of opinion to the severer course.

THE PROVOST OF ORIEL TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

Oriel College, May 28, 1843.

MY DEAR VICE-CHANCELLOR,

As I openly expressed an opinion yesterday against any suspension for preaching in Dr. P.'s case, I think I am bound in fairness to tell you that upon reconsideration, and looking to the probable intention of the statute and probable effects of passing over this (and if this, then all future cases of objectionable preaching) with reference to young hearers and young preachers and our duty towards them—I am greatly shaken in my opinion, and indeed *incline towards the opinion of those who thought suspension necessary.*

In so very difficult a question I think you will not consider this note as intrusive.

Ever yours most truly,

E. HAWKINS.

The Rev. the Vice-Chancellor.

The Vice-Chancellor has left his own opinion on record.

'Of the two,' he writes, 'I considered recantation as the less severe; and before therefore I proceeded to inflict the other, I thought it right to endeavour, if possible, to bring about a recantation. And foreseeing that if I should summon Dr. Pusey before me for this purpose in the presence of those who had adjudicated upon the sermon, it might happen that he would refuse to recant, and thus an interview painful to all parties might be productive of no beneficial result, I determined upon endeavouring to ascertain privately whether or not it would be likely that he might be induced to recant the offensive doctrine. Hence it became necessary to draw out from the sermon certain propositions, by his assent to or dissent from which his readiness to recant might be tested. Now this was a task of which I felt the extreme difficulty and delicacy. The propositions, if framed by myself alone, might be objected to on various grounds. The form, the substance, the expressions used, the conclusions which would legitimately be arrived at, might have been altogether unsatisfactory—or might have satisfied some among my coadjutors, and have displeased others. In order therefore to lessen the probability of such disagreement, I at once resolved to consult the Provost of Oriel.'

The Vice-Chancellor then submitted to the Provost a proposed form of 'recantation,' to which Pusey might assent. It was, as might be expected, a less exact and more vulnerable document than would have been devised by the Provost himself, who accordingly drafted another. This took the strange form of 'objections' to the sermon.

O. C., May 30, 1843.

MY DEAR V. C.,

I have endeavoured so to frame the above *objections* as to avoid as much as possible any *positions* not expressly stated in the Articles, and I still think it very important (considering that your statement will be sure to be printed) to avoid laying down anything like *new articles of faith*, which might, I fear, be considered to be the effect of the larger form you had drawn up, and which might open the way to endless controversy.

With Dr. Pusey immediately indeed I quite agree with you that you ought to have *no controversy*. But *if* (which from his note is scarcely conceivable, at least with respect to one of the objections) he should desire to *disclaim* the opinions imputed to him, then he should do so in the exact words which your objections give, as in the answer to No. 1, and so, *mutatis mutandis*, to Nos. 2 and 3. And such disavowal should perhaps be communicated first to the six D.D.s.

If you wish me to call upon you I will wait upon you at any hour you may appoint.

Ever yours most truly,

E. HAWKINS.

The Rev. the Vice-Chancellor.

P.S. I think it also important that you should mention to Dr. Pusey the fact of there being *general* objections over and above these special objections—so reserving to yourself full liberty to act as you may judge necessary after you shall have received Dr. P.'s answer, containing, possibly, some partial recantation. For we must think of what is due *to the young men*. And I, for my part, have gone through this task as a surgeon is obliged to do in an operation, as an abstract duty, not allowing myself to think of the suffering of the patient.

The Vice-Chancellor adopted this ingeniously constructed document, presumably as a test of Pusey's readiness to make a complete and unqualified recantation of whatever was held offensive in the sermon, so as to escape further consequences. Dr. Jelf was selected to open communications with a view to applying this test. It may be

hoped that the selection of Dr. Jelf for such an office was meant kindly, though it is obvious that the relation in which Jelf stood to Pusey rendered his intervention at this juncture, as the sequel showed, highly detrimental to Pusey's interest. Dr. Jelf, it is true, had been an intimate friend of Pusey's from his youth ; he was so still, at this moment ; and he had declined to condemn the sermon when sitting at the Board. There are, however, cases in which a friend is much more embarrassing to deal with than an opponent ; and this was one of them. In dealing with his friend Pusey allowed himself to be entangled with engagements to which it is inconceivable that even his simple-heartedness could have agreed, had he not forgotten that his friend was after all the accredited messenger of his opponents. Had Pusey been in the least degree a man of the world, he would, in the circumstances, at once have taken leave of his old friend with a bow, and have courteously explained that he would only communicate with the Vice-Chancellor directly, and *in writing*. Whereas he unfortunately betrayed himself into a situation which only increased his difficulties. Pusey has left on record an account of what passed at the first of these extraordinary interviews :—

'I received,' he says, 'no communication whatever, before it was privately announced to me [by Jelf] that my sermon had been condemned. I was informed at the same time that the V.-C. positively declined to give me a hearing. At the same time I was informed that, out of unwillingness to proceed at once against me, he was employed in drawing up certain statements of doctrine, which if I could sign, the sentence might be reversed. The fact of my receiving these statements, the nature of them, and their contents, were to be strictly secret : it was to be a strictly private communication from the Vice-Chancellor to myself: I was to take no copy of them : I was to consult no friend about anything contained in them. For the sake of the peace of the Church, I accepted even these conditions.'

It may be permitted to think that the peace of the Church would have been far better secured by an immediate rejection of terms which ought at once to have excited suspicion.

Newman had heard that communications between his judges and Pusey were going on, and had offered to be of any assistance in his power. But Pusey had already precluded himself from consulting anybody. He writes:—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Quite private.

Wednesday morning, May 31.

MY DEAR N.

I find that this communication from the V.-C. is entirely confidential, with the view of staying ulterior consequences; so I cannot have recourse to your kind help.

My first impression is that there is but little hope but that the sermon will be condemned: but there may be a way out still, or HE may overrule people's hearts. One thing only I desire for myself, not to compromise His truth. Do not think I am worried. Everything will be right.

Ever yours most affectionately,

E. B. P.

Wednesday morning.

There can be no doubt that in assenting to these conditions imposed on him by the Vice-Chancellor, Pusey committed a grave error of judgment. He ought to have insisted upon the entire publicity of all that passed between himself and his judges, and also on full liberty to consult his friends. But he allowed them to exact from him an engagement which they should have been ashamed to suggest, and still more to use afterwards in a manner which cast reflections on Pusey's sincerity. Of all men Pusey needed, at such a difficult juncture, the counsel of his friends: Keble and Newman were eminently fitted to advise him; but the tactics of his opponents effectually cut him off from their assistance.

Upon Dr. Jelf's reporting that Pusey was willing to accept the conditions, the Vice-Chancellor entrusted him with the second stage of the commission. He was to show Pusey a 'statement' of objections to his sermon, which, as we have seen, had been drawn up by the Provost of Oriel, and slightly altered by the Vice-Chancellor. This document ran as follows:—

[Confidential.]

‘Over and above some grave objections to the general tenor of the sermon as not in harmony with the authoritative teaching of the Church of England, it is particularly objected :

‘1. That certain passages, as in p. 5¹, “that Bread which is his flesh”; p. 6, “how must he not be thought to abide in us by the way of Nature”; p. 7, “His Redeemer’s very broken body”; p. 8, “My flesh and blood which were given for the life of the world and are given to those for whom they had been given”; p. 9, “touching with our very lips that cleansing blood,” &c.—convey the idea of some carnal and corporal presence of Christ in the holy Eucharist; as if it were intended to maintain that the Body and Blood of Christ were not received in that Sacrament “only after a heavenly and spiritual manner” (see Article XXVIII., and Declaration annexed to the Communion Service).

‘2. That some passages, as p. 7, “God poureth out for him yet the most precious blood of his only begotten Son; they are fed from the Cross of the Lord because they eat his Body and Blood”; p. 9, “that that precious blood is still in continuance and application of his one oblation once made upon the Cross poured out for us now, conveying to our souls, as being his Blood with the benefit of his Passion, the remission of our sins also”—suggest the idea of some continuation or repetition in the Eucharist, in order to the remission of sins, of the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross; as if the writer did not maintain that the “one oblation of Christ” was “finished upon the Cross” or that “the offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world both original and actual; and that there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone.” (See Article XXXI.)

‘3. That some passages, as p. 4, “Elements of this world and yet his very Body and Blood”; p. 5, “that bread which is his flesh,” &c., represent the body and blood of Christ as present with the consecrated elements by virtue of their consecration before they are received by the faithful communicant and independently of his faith; as if it were maintained that “the wicked and such as be void of a lively faith” when they partake of “the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ are partakers of Christ”; or that Faith is not “the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper.” (See Articles XXVIII., XXIX.)’

Together with this statement Dr. Jelf presented to Pusey, for his signature, a second document, which, as will be seen, is based on the foregoing.

¹ The references are of course to the manuscript sermon. In the printed form the passages are found on pp. 12, 13, 18, 20, 23.

'1. I did not intend to convey the idea of "any" carnal or corporal presence of Christ¹ in the holy Eucharist, and I do not maintain that "the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ" are present in the Eucharist, or that "the body and blood of Christ are received in that Sacrament except only after a heavenly and spiritual manner."

'2. I did not intend to suggest the idea of any continuation or repetition in the Eucharist, in order to the remission of sins, of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross; and I do maintain that "the one oblation of Christ was finished upon the cross"; and that "the offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world both original and actual; and that there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone."

'3. I did not intend [to represent the body and blood of Christ as present with the consecrated elements by virtue of their consecration before they are received by the faithful communicant and independently of his faith]²; and I do not maintain that the wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, when they partake of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, are partakers of Christ; nor do I maintain that Faith is not the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper.'

Pusey returned both these papers to the Vice-Chancellor with a lengthy letter, the full text of which is given in the appendix to this chapter; its drift may be understood from the following extracts:—

'No. 1 I can adopt entirely, as being in the words of our Formularies; only in one place, I have inserted the full words of our rubric, which I supposed you intended, thinking it safer to adhere to those words. . . .

'To the first part of No. 2, I should except in *point of form*, because it is no part of our authorized Formularies, and there is no authority, and it might be a dangerous precedent to admit the right of individuals to propose Formulae drawn up without sanction, for subscription.

'I do not know also whether, if I adopted it, I should use it in your sense or no. The words [continuation or] are to me ambiguous. . . .

'The latter part of No. 2, I, of course, entirely and cordially adopt, being again the statement of our Church. . . .

'3. To the first part of this which I have enclosed in brackets I must object, not only on the ground upon which I objected to the beginning of No. 2, but also because it goes beyond the Formularies

¹ Dr. Pusey has written here—
'Christ's natural Flesh and Blood.'

² These brackets were inserted by

Dr. Pusey on his returning the paper to the Vice-Chancellor.

of our Church ; the latter part (as being the words of our Formularies) I of course entirely accept. . . .

' Yet having given this explanation, I must say that I do it because I conceive you to have sent me the propositions and objections as an act of kindness, instead of any proposition of my own, which I might be required to retract.

' But if this private explanation fail to satisfy you, I must respectfully apply for the other, as the only statutable course. I must say that to me the past course of inquiry into my sermon, such as these "objections" imply, seems to me an undue extension of the statutes. The statute speaks of certain definite statements which shall be retracted—"ad ea, quae protulit, recantandum adiget." The passages objected to are not supposed (I conceive) to be such as could be proposed to any one to recant (some of them are words of the Fathers), but only, it is supposed, that a certain opinion is implied in them. I am sure that no proposition could be formed from my sermon contrary to the Formularies of our Church, which I adopt. This sort of "constructive" disagreement with the Formularies of the Church seems to me something very different from that contemplated by the statute, which refers to definite statements. Conscious of my own innocence, I cannot contemplate anything ulterior; yet although I am quite sure that you personally mean everything which is kind towards me individually, I must say that I should consider any ulterior measure, founded on such constructive objections as are here alleged, without exhibiting to me what I have asked for in such case, definite propositions of my own and not *adhering to our Formularies*, as unstatutable as well as harsh and unjust.

' I am sure, my dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that you will not think these strong words, as meant otherwise than with respect to your office and a sense of personal kindness: but there is too much at stake for me to think it right to withhold my strong feeling on this subject.'

Dr. Jelf's preliminary mission had been discharged on Tuesday, May 30: on May 31 Pusey had received the promised papers, again through Dr. Jelf, and had returned them to the Vice-Chancellor on the same day. On the afternoon of Thursday, June 1, the Vice-Chancellor and the Six Doctors met for a third time, and in order to consider Pusey's reply. That it did not satisfy them goes without saying. They saw in it a challenge to enter upon a profound and serious theological inquiry for which they could not but be conscious of being themselves inadequately

equipped, and the conclusion of which might be fatal to the vague condemnation of the sermon at which they had already arrived. Another paper was accordingly drawn up for Pusey's signature which was more in the form of a direct recantation. It consisted of three propositions, of which the first two were extracted from the sermon, and 'not' inserted in each extract; while the third contained a proposed explanation of a phrase which Pusey had employed. This paper, which is in the Vice-Chancellor's handwriting, is subjoined:—

'Will Dr. Pusey say, among other things which might be put in this same form:—

'We do not *touch with our own lips* in the Holy Eucharist *that cleansing Blood*,—meaning the very blood of Christ¹.

'*God poureth not out for us now the most precious blood of His only begotten*².

'By "*elements of this world and yet His very body and blood*" I mean only that they are spiritually so, and not carnally; not His natural flesh and blood³.'

With regard to this form of recantation, Pusey observed later to a legal friend:—

'So far were these from being what I had asked for, "*definite propositions supposed to be contrary to the Formularies of our Church*," that one related to the subject of the carnal presence of the Body and Blood of our Blessed Lord, upon which I had accepted, the day before, the statement drawn up by the Vice-Chancellor himself: a second was a passage of St. Augustine, which I had quoted, and which was applied in a sense which St. Augustine had not in his thoughts, nor I, in quoting them: the third, since I was allowed no copy, nor even to have in my hand the paper upon which they were written, I have forgotten. I considered this, I own, as mere mockery: I said to the individual who brought them to me, "It never can be intended that I should recant such statements as these."

Dr. Jelf carried back to the judges the notes which he had taken down from Pusey's lips. When asked to recant

¹ 'Sermon,' p. 23.

² 'Sermon,' p. 18. The sermon reads 'yet' for 'now,' but with the same meaning.

³ 'Sermon,' p. 7. The italics re-

present the exact words of Pusey in his sermon, which are not clearly marked on the Vice-Chancellor's copy.

the statement that we 'touch with our own lips Christ's cleansing Blood,' Pusey had observed :—

'I do not say it after any corporeal manner; I say it in no other sense than St. Chrysostom says, "Our tongues are reddened, &c." I say it only, because after consecration they are called the Body and Blood of Christ. It was an adaptation of the words of the Ancient Church, "Lo, this hath touched my lips," &c.'

When asked to deny that 'God poureth out for us now the most precious Blood of His Only Begotten,' Pusey explained :—

'I adopt St. Augustine's words in no other sense than as our Church teaches us, to thank God "for that He doth vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of His Son," &c. It never crossed my mind to make any allusion in these words to the Sacrifice, or, until I saw the objection yesterday, that any one could connect the doctrine with them.'

When bidden to assert that by 'His very Body and Blood' he meant that the elements are only 'spiritually so, not carnally, not Christ's natural flesh and blood,' Pusey replied :—

'Yes. I had no physical meaning. I deny everything physical, and I meant only a spiritual body in a spiritual and sacramental way.'

That evening 'the judges' met again to receive Dr. Jelf's report. They were not satisfied. In the Vice-Chancellor's words, subsequently addressed to Pusey, 'the utmost that could be said of the statements which Dr. Jelf took down from your mouth was that they were qualifications of the language of the sermon.' The Six Doctors considered that they 'had made two attempts to bring about a recantation and had failed.' It was also 'strongly impressed' on the Vice-Chancellor's 'mind that besides particular objections, an exception had been taken to the general tenor of the sermon, which of course no recantation could touch.' And so he 'at length made up his mind that no course remained but to proceed to what' he 'felt to be a very severe measure, but nevertheless the only alternative, namely, suspension.'

The official notification of the Sentence ran as follows:—

Junii 2^{do}, 1843.

Cum Edvardus Bouverie Pusey S. T. P. Aedis Christi Canonicus, necnon Linguae Hebraicae Professor Regius, in Concione intra Universitatem Maii 14^{to} proxime elapso habitâ, quaedam Doctrinae Ecclesiae Anglicanae dissona et contraria protulisse delatus fuerit: Idemque Edvardus Bouverie Pusey S. T. P. postulanti Vice-Cancellario Concionis suae verum exemplar eisdem terminis conscriptum, virtute Juramenti tradiderit: Mihi igitur Vice-Cancellario verbis, quae in quaestionem vocabantur, in medium prolatis et ritè perpensis, adhibito consilio sex aliorum S. Theologiae Doctorum scilicet D. Doctoris Jenkyns, D. Doctoris Hawkins, D. Doctoris Symons, D. Doctoris Jelf, D. Doctoris Ogilvie, necnon et Praelectoris Dominae Margaretæ Comitissae de Richmond, criminis objecti dictum Edvardum Bouverie Pusey S. T. P. reum inventum, a munere praedicandi intra praecinctum Universitatis per duos annos suspendere placuit.

P. WYNTER, VICE-CANCELLARIUS.

Philippus Bliss,
Registrarius Univ. Oxon.

On the morning of June 2nd Dr. Jelf announced the sentence to Pusey. The Vice-Chancellor allowed Dr. Jelf to tell Pusey that he had not had a hearing. Pusey at once set to work on a Protest against his suspension.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[June 2, 1843.]

MY DEAR N.

Before you leave O[xford] I should like you to see the copy of my Protest and give me your opinion. I am quite at ease.

Yours very affectionately,

E. B. P.

Pusey's engagement to be silent respecting the communications between himself and the Vice-Chancellor made him feel it impossible to protest against his sentence in adequate terms. He was obliged to be silent about his enforced silence. He could say nothing about those vague presumptions, or those untheological inferences of the documents sent to him by his judges, which betrayed the unjustifiable grounds of his sentence. He would have been far better off if they had suspended him, as they had condemned him, at once and without a word of com-

munication. As it was, he could only make a Protest which, read in the light of what had really passed, expresses very feebly the flagrant injustice of the proceedings.

PROTEST.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

You will be assured that the following Protest, which I feel it my duty to the Church to deliver, is written with entire respect for your office, and without any imputation upon yourself individually.

I have stated to you, on different occasions, as opportunity offered, that I was at a loss to conceive what in my sermon could be construed into discordance with the Formularies of our Church; I have requested you to adopt that alternative in the statutes which allows the accused a hearing; I have again and again requested that definite propositions, which were thought to be at variance with our Formularies, should, according to the alternative in the statute, be proposed to me; I have declared repeatedly my entire assent *ex animo* to all the doctrinal statements of our Church on this subject, and have, as far as I had opportunity, declared my sincere and entire consent to them individually; I have ground to think that, as no propositions out of my sermon have been exhibited to me as at variance with the doctrine of our Church, so neither can they, but that I have been condemned either on a mistaken construction of my words, founded upon the doctrinal opinions of my judges, or on grounds distinct from the Formularies of our Church.

Under these circumstances, since the statute manifestly contemplates certain grave and definite instances of contrariety or discordance from the Formularies of our Church, I feel it my duty to protest against the late sentence against me as unstatutable as well as unjust.

I remain, Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

Your humble servant,

Christ Church, June 2, 1843.

E. B. PUSEY.

In his own words, Pusey protested against his sentence as 'unstatutable as well as unjust,'

'1. Because I conceive that the statute contemplates so strongly "grave and definite instances" of contrariety or "discordance from the Formularies of our Church," that I was satisfied that the alternative of the summary condemnation permitted to the V.-C., and resorted to in my case, was intended only in flagrant and extreme cases. It could not, I conceive, have been intended in cases in which the existence of the "crime alleged" could not be ascertained, except by a hearing. Any other interpretation of the statute would set it at variance with all the principles of ecclesiastical and civil law.

'2. I had "ground to think" "that I had been condemned either on a mistaken construction of my words, founded upon the doctrinal

opinions of my judges, or on grounds distinct from the Formularies of the Church." That I had not only "ground to *think* this, but actually *knew* it, I was obliged to withhold, when I wrote my Protest. I said, in consequence, to the Vice-Chancellor, in a letter with which I accompanied my Protest, "Had I been allowed to mention all I knew, my Protest must have been much stronger."

'3. I now say that I consider it both "unstatutable and unjust," because it has been rested partly on misconstruction of my words, inferring from them what is not contained in them, partly on grounds foreign to my sermon, partly on grounds foreign to, and *opposed* to, our Formularies, which my judges, not myself, have contravened¹.'

Pusey sent his Protest to the Vice-Chancellor on the evening of June 2nd. The letter which accompanied it must have suggested to the Vice-Chancellor what the contents of the Protest would have been, had Pusey not been bound down by the fatal engagement to secrecy.

MY DEAR MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

In drawing up the accompanying Protest, which it is my purpose to make public, I have avoided anything which might betray how much I really know of the grounds of my condemnation, in which case I must have spoken very much more strongly. I showed it to Dr. Jelf, that he might tell me whether it trenched upon what I knew confidentially.

To yourself, individually, I would, in candour, state, that while entirely unconcerned about myself, I feel, most strongly, the exceeding injustice of the late sentence, and I think that some of my judges will in time repent of it.

It does seem to me so utterly contrary to all justice, that when, of three sets of propositions, I accepted entirely the first and largest, of the other two, I accepted *ex animo* all which was contained in our Formularies, rejected only so much of one proposition as was clearly beside our Formularies, and demurred to another, because I did not understand your meaning, expressing at the same time my entire concurrence *ex animo* with all in our Formularies—it does seem to me to be so utterly contrary to all principles of justice and equity (not to speak of charity) to afford me no further opportunity of vindication, that I can only say I pray that my judges may not, in the Great Day, receive the measure which they have dealt to me.

I have done what in me lay for the peace of the Church.

Yours faithfully,

Christ Church, June 2, 1843.

E. B. PUSEY.

¹ E. B. P. to E. Badeley, Esq., Statement No. 2.

All is now past, but I would now explain that I thought that the papers given me by Dr. Jelf were only preliminary; else I should have attempted to substitute other words for those which I bracketed, which might have conveyed my meaning formally.

The publication of Pusey's Protest was the first notification to the world, that anything whatever had been done since the sermon had been sent for. There had been rumours as to what was passing; but nothing was known on authority. The Six Doctors had met four times: the sentence had been signed and sent to Pusey: but it had never been published.

'On Dr. Pusey's authority, of course it could not be doubted that he had been actually suspended. . . . So all that day people were looking about impatiently for the fact itself. They went to the doors of the College halls, to the Common rooms, to the doors of the Schools, and all the public places where University notices of all kinds are posted; they could find nothing new; there was a notice that some livery-stable-keeper had been suspended from University communications for letting a tandem, or some such offence, but no Dr. Pusey. The divinity beadle was seen going about, but it was only the announcement of the next Sunday's preachers. There was not, nor is there to this day that we know of, anything to show¹.'

The Protest made no reference to the communications which had passed between Pusey and his judges through Dr. Jelf. Pusey, as we have seen, conceived himself to be debarred from any such reference by the silence which had been imposed on him, and which he understood to refer no less to the fact than to the nature of the communications. But when his Protest was made public, it became apparent that his scrupulous observance of this contract would involve inconveniences for his judges which they had not at first foreseen. The truth was, that Pusey's judges had never thought of giving him a hearing before condemning him; but now they did not wish to be supposed to have condemned him unheard. As a matter of fact they had done so; and then, after condemning him, had endeavoured to extort from him a recantation of propositions which, in

¹ *British Critic*, No. lxxvii, July, 1843, p. 205.

the sense he had used them, the more instructed members of the Board would not have condemned. And now they were obliged to face, not only Pusey's friends, but all fair-minded people in the University and elsewhere, who, without knowing or caring much about theology, had distinct ideas of the requirements of justice. They were becoming eager to make the most that could be made of what had passed between Dr. Jelf and Pusey after the condemnation of the sermon. If Pusey had not been heard, he had at least been communicated with; if not before his sermon was condemned, at least before sentence was pronounced. But they could not avail themselves of even this expedient for improving their case (if it did improve it) without themselves violating the compact which they had imposed upon Pusey. To tell all the world what had passed between Dr. Jelf and Pusey would have made their case worse than ever: but could it not be arranged that the fact of some communications with Pusey might be made known, without any relaxation of the obligation to secrecy as to the nature of those communications? Even before the appearance of the Protest, and on the day of the sentence, this question had presented itself to the acute apprehension of the Provost of Oriel.

THE PROVOST OF ORIEL TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

Oriel College, June 2, 1843.

MY DEAR VICE-CHANCELLOR,

One more last word, but not requiring any answer until we happen to meet again.

Although your *communications* with Dr. Pusey have been themselves private and confidential, I do not see any reason why *the fact* should be private—the fact that Dr. Pusey had written to you a note accompanying his sermon, and that in consequence of it you had privately inquired of him through a mutual friend whether he was likely to make such explanations as could be satisfactory—before you proceeded to suspension,—and proceeded to suspension when you had ascertained that he was not likely to offer any satisfactory explanations.

If we are once allowed to mention the fact of these communications having preceded suspension, I think we should sufficiently obviate those evil consequences which I dwelt upon last night perhaps too warmly.

And, *possibly*, this course may also prevent the necessity of your

having to make any further statement of objections to Dr. P. to become the basis of future controversy.

Ever yours most truly,

E. HAWKINS.

The Rev. the Vice-Chancellor.

I think this was your own opinion yesterday afternoon, though perhaps it was rather lost sight of at our evening session.

But when the Protest itself was distributed in every common-room in Oxford, the full effect of Pusey's observance of his engagement upon academical opinion was immediately apparent. The Protest made no allusion to any hearing. The University would take it for granted (which was in fact the case) that there had been no hearing. Thereupon, and to prevent such damaging inferences, the Provost of Oriel wrote to Dr. Jelf calling in question Pusey's 'veracity and honesty,' on the ground that in his Protest he had made no reference to those communications which had passed between himself and the Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Jelf sent this letter to Pusey, who thereupon immediately repudiated the charge, not only in a letter to Jelf, but in a more lengthy letter to the Vice-Chancellor, in which he complains of the unfair position in which he was placed by his scrupulous observance of the obligation to secrecy, which it now appeared that he was only to adhere to so far as it favoured his judges. He writes:—

E. B. P. TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

June 3, 1843.

... I am quite willing to say absolutely nothing or to enter into the fullest explanation, as you think best or give me leave. Only I cannot make, or allow of, half-statements (such as were those of the Provost of Oriel, in part also mis-statements) which, without the full explanation, would throw suspicion on my truth. I have kept the whole nature of the communications a strict secret from my nearest friends, as I was enjoined; but unless equal silence is imposed upon all, I must regard the understanding at an end, and myself released from an engagement which was understood to be mutual.

The Vice-Chancellor hereupon consulted the Provost of Oriel, who suggested that Pusey might adopt the subjoined form of postscript¹ to his Protest.

¹ The original draft is in the Provost's handwriting.

THE PROVOST'S PROPOSED SUPPLEMENT TO PUSEY'S PROTEST.

I framed my Protest of yesterday's date under an impression that I was not at liberty to mention the fact of private communications having been made to me on your part. As this may possibly create in some minds a misapprehension of the actual circumstances, I would now say by way of explanation that the words of my Protest, so far as regards this point, apply to my not having been allowed an opportunity of explaining and defending myself before you in your public capacity.

Pusey of course refused to adopt a document which implied an altogether inaccurate account of the facts, and replied:—

E. B. P. TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

Christ Church, Whitsun Eve, 1843.

There seems to me some strange misunderstanding as to the facts of the case, because the words you have suggested to me, viz. 'apply to my not having been allowed an opportunity of explaining and defending myself before you *in your public capacity*' imply that I had such opportunity privately. This I understood that I had not; on the contrary I would still apply for it, if possible, with a view that, if I established the innocency of my meaning, the sentence might be rescinded.

... I cannot adopt yours [your form of Postscript] because it implies that which, in my view, never took place. I have no objection to its being stated that 'certain private communications were made by you to me without leading to any satisfactory result,' provided I be allowed to say that secrecy is imposed upon me as to the nature of those communications, and also that no reports are circulated as to their nature. If they are, so as to affect my character for truth, I must conceive myself at liberty both to publish the letter which I sent to you this morning, and also a detail of the circumstances, as far as I know them. I am sorry to write thus, but I must take the liberty of reminding you that had you maintained the same silence which you imposed upon me, this difficulty would not have arisen, for it is not the fact of my having had private communications from you, but the supposed nature of those communications, such as the Provost of Oriel represented them to Dr. Jelf, which would affect my character for truth.

To this the Vice-Chancellor replied, endeavouring as best he could to justify the terms of the postscript which he had suggested at the Provost's dictation. The letter, which is given in the Appendix to this chapter, is valuable as giving an account of the objects which influenced the judges in

their communications with Pusey, but it clearly shows that whatever complexion the Provost might now endeavour to give to those secret negotiations, Pusey was condemned without a hearing.

But his judges were still, with the aid of the Provost's suggestions, taking advantage of Pusey's faithful adherence to his promise of silence. It was known that there had been communications. It was believed that they were of the nature of a hearing previous to the condemnation of the sermon, and it was supposed that Pusey had disingenuously suppressed all mention of it. He was therefore driven to publish the subjoined supplement to his Protest.

SUPPLEMENT TO PROTEST.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

When I drew up my Protest, I felt myself bound not to allude to the fact, that, after it was announced to me that my sermon had been condemned, I received confidential communications from yourself. I had been informed, when I received them, that the fact of my having received them, as well as their contents, was strictly confidential, and this injunction to entire silence had not been removed. I felt it therefore even my duty to ascertain that there was in my Protest nothing which could trench upon that confidence.

I expressed to yourself privately, at the time, my sense of the kindness of *your* intentions personally, in making to me the first of those communications; and of this I was thinking, when, in my Protest, I spoke of not casting 'any imputation upon yourself individually.'

To the nature of those communications I can make no allusion, since you saw right to impose silence upon me. It is sufficient to say that after they were concluded I received a message from yourself, '*Dr. Pusey has my full authority for saying that he has had no hearing.*' It ever was, and is, my full conviction, that had I had the hearing, which (for the sake of the University and the Church) I earnestly asked for, I must have been acquitted.

These communications, then, in no way affect my Protest. I add this explanation, because, while I retain my strong conviction that my sentence was both 'unstatutable and unjust,' it is right, since I am now at liberty so to do, to acknowledge the kindness of your own intentions to me individually.

I remain, Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

Your humble servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

Christ Church, June 6, 1843.

How deeply Pusey felt about this matter is more exactly expressed in the following letter than in the Supplement to the Protest.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[Christ Church],

In fest. SS. Trin. 1843, June 11.

Even the rest of this sacred day of rest is broken in upon. Ward told me yesterday evening some statements in the *Morning Chronicle* about my Protest being 'Jesuitical,' 'every one here being disgusted at it,' &c., which make it necessary to determine how to act.

One line to which I have been inclining this morning, is to let these things die a natural death, commit my own reputation to God, stop privately the Protest in London, and bring out my sermon, which will at once shift the battle from these grounds to the theological questions.

My ground for this is, that I have fallen into the hands of one or more, blinded by prejudice and hostility, so that they have become hard-hearted, reckless, unscrupulous, and I am no match for such men. 'The sons of Zeruiah are too hard for me.' I feared, as soon as I knew it, that they would make out a plausible case of inaccuracy against me; people will believe just as they wish, and the whole controversy will be about my veracity, which will indispose people to the truths of the sermon when it appears.

The other line is, to make an enlarged and stronger Protest (which when I sent the former I told the Vice-Chancellor I must have done, had I been allowed to allude to the facts which I knew) followed by a Statement of the facts I know. This will be to take the offensive, and show that my animus was to tell the truth.

As I am now released from secrecy, I send you the Protest and the Statement; only, as I can do nothing until the Vice-Chancellor's return to-morrow, you had better say nothing, lest I seem to be premature or they steal a march upon me.

This is miserable work for such a day as this; I can only say 'Draw me out of the net which they have laid privily for me, for Thou art my God.'

Ever your most affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

At the same time an address to the Vice-Chancellor appeared which was signed by sixty-one resident members of Convocation and Bachelors of Civil Law. It asked the Vice-Chancellor to make known to the University the grounds on which the sentence on Dr. Pusey was passed, in order that there might be no doubt as to what statements of doctrine

the sentence was intended to mark as dissonant from or contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England as publicly received. This address was signed in the main by adherents of the Movement, but also by some persons who had no connexion with it. Its motive was well expressed in a private letter which one of the signatories wrote at the time to the Vice-Chancellor :—

‘The fact is that the silence of the gentlemen who examined the sermon is very perplexing to us who may have to preach at some time or other before the University. We have no means of knowing what is held to be heretical doctrine respecting the Eucharist (for this is supposed to be the point on which objection has been taken) and consequently cannot avoid the danger which Dr. Pusey has incurred.’

The writer certainly was not thinking of himself when he added,

‘Those who agree in the main with Dr. Pusey’s teaching are of course the most perplexed’.

This perplexity was by no means merely theoretical. Delation of University sermons was in the air. On Ascension Day, May 25, the Rev. T. E. Morris, Student and Tutor of Christ Church, had preached before the University by the Dean’s appointment. In his sermon he had spoken of ‘Laud the martyred archbishop, who, let us trust, still intercedes for this Church.’ On the following day the Vice-Chancellor sent for the sermon ‘under the provisions of the statute, Tit. xvi. § 11.’ Mr. Morris sent the sermon, together with extracts from Anglican divines illustrating his language. On the following Wednesday the Vice-Chancellor informed Mr. Morris that all the notice he had to take *officially* of the sermon was to require that Mr. Morris would *ex animo* express his assent to the Twenty-second Article; a request which was apparently based on the presumption that it is impossible to believe in the intercession of the saints without invoking them. Mr. Morris of course had no difficulty in complying with the Vice-Chancellor’s desire; he ‘did not see that what he had

¹ Rev. F. A. Faber, Fellow of Magdalen, to the Vice-Chancellor, June 5, 1843.
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said involved Invocation [of the Saints] at all.' He read the Article, received back the copy of his sermon, and, so far as the University was concerned, the matter was at an end¹.

The situation is described, not without a touch of humour, by one who was keenly alive to all that was passing, and deeply felt its extreme seriousness.

REV. C. MARRIOTT TO REV. W. COTTON.

Oriel, Whitsunday, 1843.

The Heads here are got most unreasonably jealous, and fancy we are going straight over to Rome. . . . I think it will only make a disturbance, and do anything rather than further the cause of low doctrine. T. Morris also, in preaching at Ch. Ch. for the Dean, said that we might hope that Archbishop Laud still interceded for the Church of England and for this University. He was had up, and admonished for this (as if on purpose to show the dotage of our authorities) as tending directly to the Invocation of Saints. However, he protested against receiving any such admonition as official and authoritative, and only had *in that way* Article 22 to read out!! This is all within the last fortnight. I hope to preach tomorrow and the next day. . . . I hope they will not have me up!!

'Can you not agree with me,' wrote Mr. Faber of Magdalen again to the Vice-Chancellor, 'that those clergymen who agree with Dr. Pusey's theology are in much insecurity from a want of knowledge? It is but yesterday that I overheard a gentleman say, "I trembled for Marriott."'

But the Vice-Chancellor was inexorable. To public memorials and to private communications, he returned practically the same answer.

GENTLEMEN,

Respecting as I do the motives of those who have signed the paper conveyed to me by you, and ready as I am at all times to satisfy the reasonable demand of members of Convocation, I regret that I cannot in the present instance comply with their request. It is my plain duty as Vice-Chancellor to abide by the Statutes of the University, and as these do not prescribe, so I have scarcely a doubt they do not permit, the course which is now suggested to me. For

¹ Rev. T. E. Morris, to the Editor of *The Times*, Christ Church, June 7, 1843.

the silence of the Statutes on this point, satisfactory reasons may be presumed—reasons which are not applicable to me alone, but to yourselves individually, and to the University at large.

I beg to subscribe myself, &c.,

P. WYNTER, V.-C.

The Rev. H. Wall, E. B. Eden, E. Hill, &c.

The position taken up in this document is extraordinary. Here was a statute intended to guard the University against the public teaching of false doctrine. It had been put in force with the extreme result of suspending an eminent scholar from the most serious of his public duties. But the plain intention of the statute was nevertheless defeated by the refusal to state the grounds on which it had been put in force. No one was instructed; no truth, real or supposed, was guarded; while numbers were greatly and not unreasonably irritated by what had taken place.

That matters would be pushed further was inevitable. A second address to the Vice-Chancellor, on the part of non-resident members of the University, was forwarded to him by Mr. Badeley.

TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
OXFORD.

We, the undersigned non-resident members of Convocation, beg leave respectfully to express our serious regret at the course which you have adopted with reference to Dr. Pusey's sermon.

We deprecate that construction of the statute under which Dr. Pusey has been condemned; which, contrary to the general principles of justice, subjects a person to penalties without affording him the means of explanation or defence; and we think that the interests of the Church and of the University require, that when a sermon is adjudged unsound, the points in which its unsoundness consists should be distinctly stated, if the condemnation of it is intended to operate either as a caution to other preachers, or as a check to the reception of doctrines supposed to be erroneous.

(Signed) DUNGANNON, M.A., Christ Church.

COURTENAY, B.C.L., All Souls, M.P.

W. E. GLADSTONE, Christ Church.

JOHN TAYLOR COLERIDGE, M.A., Exeter.

&c. &c.

The correspondence between Mr. Badeley and the Vice-Chancellor illustrated the tension of feeling at the time.

Mr. Badeley informed the Vice-Chancellor that he had been entrusted with an address, and begged to know when and in what manner it would be convenient to the Vice-Chancellor to receive it. The Vice-Chancellor replied that he would gladly receive Mr. Badeley, or any other gentleman who might bring the address. That he would also receive the address he would not say until he knew what was the authority under which Mr. Badeley acted, and what were the contents of the address. Mr. Badeley then enclosed a *copy* of the address, and stated that it was signed by 230 non-resident members of Convocation. The Vice-Chancellor drew an odd distinction between the address itself and an exact copy of it, and suggested that the address itself should be sent to him by post. Upon receiving it, he could only express his indignation and scorn by despatching his reply to London by the hands of the University Bedel. It ran as follows :—

SIR,

St. John's College, Oxford, August 4, 1843.

The address which, as you inform me, you were commissioned to present to me, reached me by yesterday's post; I return it to you by the hands of my bedel.

When a document of a similar nature, upon the same subject, was some time since presented to me, I was induced from respect for the presumed motives of those who signed it, not only to receive it, but to state the ground on which I felt myself precluded from complying with the request which it contained. But the paper which you have transmitted to me presents itself to me under very different circumstances, and demands from me a different course of procedure.

In whatever point of view I feel myself at liberty to regard it, whether as addressed to me in my individual or my official capacity, it is deserving of the strongest censure.

In the former case, it imputes to me, by implication, that in a matter wherein every thoughtful man occupying my position would most deeply feel its painful responsibilities, I have acted without due deliberation, and am capable of being influenced by many to concede that which I have already denied to a few. Assuming it to be addressed to me in my public capacity, a graver character attaches to it. If it be not altogether nugatory, then it is an unbecoming and unstatutable attempt to overawe the Resident Governor of the University in the execution of his office.

In either case, I refuse to receive it; and I hold it to be my duty to admonish those who may have hastily signed it, while I warn

others who may have been active in promoting it, to have a more careful regard to the oaths by which they bound themselves upon admission to their several degrees; this act of theirs having a direct tendency to foment, if not create, divisions in the University, to disturb its peace, and interfere with its orderly government.

I am, Sir,

Your faithful, humble servant,

E. BADELEY, Esq., M.A.

P. WYNTER, V.-C.

Mr. Badeley replied by assuring the Vice-Chancellor that no disrespect was intended either for his character or office; that he was only approached in his official capacity by those who, as members of Convocation, had a right to approach him. To Pusey he observed:—

E. BADELEY, ESQ. TO E. B. P.

Temple, Aug. 6, 1843.

. . . I have had a curious correspondence since I saw you with the Vice-Chancellor respecting the address of the non-residents upon your case; the result of which is that he refuses to receive the address and has sent me a most angry, I may almost say a most insulting letter, which I suppose must be published. He tells us to pay more regard to our *oaths* than thus to disturb the peace of the University and interfere with its orderly government! However, he has at least had the address and seen the names of those who signed it, and these appear to have annoyed him a good deal¹. I have written to him very calmly and respectfully, *and so have left him in the wrong*.

I sincerely hope you like Dover and find its air beneficial to you. I trust your health may soon be fully re-established.

Ever, my dear Dr. Pusey, with the greatest respect and regard,

Yours most sincerely,

E. BADELEY.

J. B. Mozley amusingly describes the impression produced by this correspondence.

REV. J. B. MOZLEY TO REV. R. W. CHURCH.

Have tidings of the correspondence between Badeley and the Vice-Chancellor reached you? The V.-C. has positively refused to receive the address, and attributed malicious and seditious motives

¹ Mr. Badeley is unintentionally unfair. It appears that the Vice-Chancellor framed his reply before seeing the names appended to the address, and 'with the idea that the whole scheme originated with a few hot-headed partisans.' When he saw

the names of some whom he respected, or admired, or regarded as friends, attached to the paper, he did not think it honest to alter his reply. Rev. Dr. Wynter to Mr. Justice Coleridge, Jan. 18, 1844.

to the signers of it! says they are acting against their University oaths! You never saw such a document for unbridled folly. Gladstone, Judge Coleridge, and all are put together, and the whole set put down as boys; and the V.-C. acts as if he were the Vice-Chancellor of the universe. Badeley is amazingly on the *qui vive* about it, enjoying it more than I can describe. Gladstone is excessively indignant; Hook rages. The latter has dedicated a new work of his to Pusey; I question whether he has not written it on purpose to dedicate it. On the whole, it is a rich climax. . . .¹

The Vice-Chancellor's reply to the non-resident members of Convocation appears to have had effects which he could not have intended. Mr. Justice Coleridge was one of the signatories, and the admonition to regard the oaths which they had taken was, in the case of a judge, freely and disagreeably noticed by the press. The Provost of Oriel, too, administered to him 'an authoritative rebuke,' and the result was a correspondence with the Vice-Chancellor. At its close occurs the subjoined passage:—

MR. JUSTICE COLERIDGE TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

Jan. 8, 1844.

It would be very much out of place here to re-agitate the question . . . and we neither of us strengthen our case by simply reaffirming our opinions. But I must beg permission to say to one with whom I wish to stand well, that I am much misunderstood if I am supposed to be careless of disturbing the discipline of the University, still more of encouraging disloyalty to the Church, to which, ignorant as I unfeignedly profess myself to be, the Provost himself is not more sincerely devoted than I am. My conduct proceeded and proceeds, on the most undoubting conviction that the course pursued towards Dr. Pusey was not only cruel to him and radically unjust in principle, but most dangerous to the Church, and directly conducive to the very ends which yet, I doubt not, it was honestly intended to prevent.

The impression created by the proceedings which have been just described may be learnt from the subjoined paper written by the Rev. Isaac Williams, and apparently intended for publication.

'Nothing,' the writer observes, 'has occurred in our time, so pregnant with great consequences as the late conspiracy in Oxford. A barrier has given way; as in the march of revolutionary measures when the divinity that hedges round the person of a king has been

¹ 'Letters of J. B. Mozley,' p. 145.

broken through, the first overt act never stops: so is it with our natural reverence for a holy person, when under any violent impulse this sacred feeling is trampled on, and God's withholding hand is withdrawn, it may be augured to be the prelude of fresh events. Certainly nothing has been known in our days like the feeling with which it has been received, by all within the more immediate circles of Oxford society: men look at each other as if some wicked thing had been perpetrated on which they could not venture to speak; in all there is a deep feeling that it is not to end here, and a sense of love and reverence for the injured person, strongly entertained, but never perhaps before fully known or expressed, breaks out in sayings from men of all opinions which has much struck me. "He is so marked by the hand of Heaven by sacred sorrows, and in every way," said one, "there is something so sacrosanct about him, that they dare not touch him; it cannot be." "Why, he is like a guardian angel to the place," said another. "One feels as if one's own mother had been insulted," says a third, "it overwhelms one as something shocking." There is also a very general impression that the sermon itself is no more than a handle for a preconcerted measure, which is confirmed by the fact that they have resolutely refused to mention any one objectionable proposition in the sermon, or in what way it is discordant with the Church of England: all whom I have met with considered the sermon very innocent and unexceptionable. Add to which the circumstance of a similar attack at the same time upon another, where the *particular charge being specified* it was at once found untenable and frivolous. . . .

'Setting aside the moral weight of Dr. Pusey's character, and that of his station as a Canon of Christ Church, as a man of genius, neither the University nor the nation have seen his superior for centuries. Add also that there is in the English character a strong sense against unfair dealing: persons in no way connected with this Movement are loud against this proceeding. "I am no friend to them and to their views," said one man in my hearing, "but this is a sad business; what will the world say of such a judge and jury?"

'Again, will it urge men to Rome? This is the apprehension of many. I think not: for two reasons; first, that when a person feels that others have a desire to thrust him from his place, he becomes actuated by a double desire to retain it more fully and broadly; and a desire to urge the party to Rome is too evident. In the second place, Dr. Pusey himself is the one of all others least inclined to secede to Rome: and the late occurrence has not only combined and rivetted together the whole Catholic body in the English Church, but especially around himself, by sympathy and affection brought out and strengthened to an inconceivable degree. Now all these are elements the working of which prognosticate their final success in the struggle. Add to which, beyond all, the strength which always has moved the world, and shaken it to its centre, the strength

of principle: "it is but little," says Aristotle, "in outward show, but in worth and power far surpasses all things." Truth moreover never has prevailed except when persecuted: and from the beginning to this day, it is impossible to put your finger on any point in history when the truth appeared and was not persecuted. Since the time of which it is said, "And wherefore slew he him? but because his own works were evil and his brother's good," it has passed into a principle observed by the wise man: "Let our strength be the law of justice. He was made to reprove our thoughts. This is grievous unto us even to behold, for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion: he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness. Let us see if his words be true." . . .

'OXONIENSIS.'

At first Pusey had made up his mind not to publish his sermon, lest, in the existing state of opinion, he should be 'casting with his own hands that which is most sacred, to be outraged and profaned¹.' Newman, however, advised publication, and Pusey had already prepared a preface and dedication, when he received from Mr. (now Sir) T. D. Acland a letter strongly urging him not to publish. Many of Pusey's friends, Mr. Acland said, were anxious that he should not appeal from authority to the people. The Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Denison, had remarked to Mr. Acland that 'it would be like Pusey's character to submit to authority, however unjust.' Pusey himself would gain by such an act of dutiful submission. On the following day Mr. Acland wrote again, giving the opinion of Mr. Gladstone on the other side. Mr. Gladstone was for publication, sooner or later. Sooner or later Pusey must, if the Vice-Chancellor would not, put the Church in possession of what had been condemned.

Pusey again asked Newman's advice, while forwarding to him Mr. Acland's first letter.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[Christ Church, June 9, 1843.]

The enclosed note from A. at first much distressed and perplexed me. I did dread excessively the blasphemy, and do dread the Bishops (e.g. if this year we were to have the Bishop of Chichester with his sympathy for the Heads, his hatred of us, and his unsusceptible undistinguishing mind, with a furious Charge this year,

¹ 'The Holy Eucharist a comfort to the Penitent,' pref.

and next Chester, Winchester, Durham). This is my only dread; as for going against [the] authority [of the Heads] (whether it is from having lived with them so long as equals) I cannot feel it. I have gone against them already.

I gave up my own feelings at first to your judgement; at first my feelings were to risk anything rather than publish; the conviction of the necessity seemed to come over me, and, at last, the general expectation that I should publish seems to supersede private judgement.

I send you the only slip I have of the Preface that you may see its tone. If you see any shade of doubt, I could write to J. K. or even Justice Coleridge, who (though I am personally unknown to him, yet intimate with his brother) has written me a very kind note.

Newman was clear.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, June 9, 1843.

My feeling is that you must not seem *afraid* to publish—i. e. that non-publication must not be *your* act (especially since the sermon is *expected* and in the press).

If any person in authority, who had not seen the sermon, as our Bishop, allowed you to say that he strongly dissuaded it, or even to write a letter which you could publish, I think that your own character would be secure, as Acland says, with Anglicans.

But there are a number of unsettled people up and down. Will not they in their hearts think that you go much further than you do? Will not the *general effect* be produced that 'the Movement has taken in the doctrine of Transubstantiation'? Will it not be taken for granted by *opponents*? Will not the fear of a secret spreading disloyalty to Anglicanism gain ground? Will you not be hailed by the Pope, who (I find) has just given you up? On the other hand is the question, whether your sermon will not *read* Popish anyhow to most people.

The question of authority seems to me absurd, as to you. It is a mere pretence.

No doubt the Vice-Chancellor and the six doctors would wish the sermon not published—it will put them into an awkward situation.

I never can make up my mind in a moment, but I have said enough to answer your *immediate* question. In my opinion you *cannot* refrain from publishing *unless* protected by some Bishop or (e. g.) by a request signed by good names, as Judge Coleridge's.

Whether *with* this it will be expedient for you to refrain, I should like a little more time to think about.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. H. N.

P.S. Would it not be worth while to ask Hope? He goes away to-night. Keble does not like to give his opinion *on a sudden*.

I like the Preface very much.

On the next day Newman added, by way of postscript:—

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, Saturday.

The only additional thought I have had is, that I suppose your *not* publishing will be considered a *defeat*—your publishing a victory—by persons who incline Romeward. I very much fear that any occurrence which tends to impress upon their imagination that our Church disowns Catholic doctrine, e.g. your absolute submission, may do great harm to them.

In the case of No. 90, *no Catholic doctrine was involved* in continuing the Tracts. In submitting simply, I surrendered nothing. Of course it is a question whether *you* will not be making the Heads of Houses of more account than a Gospel truth.

Pusey decided that although he would submit to real authority, such as that of the Bishop of Oxford, if desired by him not to publish, it would be 'mere hypocrisy to pretend to withhold his sermon out of deference to the authority of the Vice-Chancellor.' He had already submitted the preface to Newman, and Newman had suggested corrections. Keble also advised publication, but discouraged Pusey's proposed dedication of it to Newman. He was in favour, however, of the suggestion of a short Catena of Anglican authorities, as an appendix to the sermon.

REV. J. KEBLE TO E. B. P.

Hursley, June 10, 1843.

. . . I think so much of a Catena as will put people on their guard would be a charitable thing; perhaps two or three of the strongest and most appropriate passages. Might you, without disrespect to the Bishop of Oxford, refer to the Catena in the Tracts on the Eucharistic Sacrifice, for that, I suppose, contains most of what you would put in?

Pusey at once took Keble's advice. The sermon appeared in the last week of June, with Pusey's preface corrected by Newman, Copeland's Catena of Anglican divines, and a large apparatus of notes, mainly patristic, intended to show that the doctrinal language of the sermon was throughout, either in the letter or in substance, that of the primitive fathers of the Church.

It was received as might be expected. Setting aside the party necessarily opposed to high doctrine on the subject of

the Eucharist, there were only a few who thought that it contained anything to warrant the suspension of its author. There was, however, a larger number who complained of its 'exaggerated' or 'rhetorical' language; they meant that it expressed a dogmatic and devotional temper which, though not contrary to that of the Church of England, was in advance of their own. Of the acknowledgments of Pusey's nearer friends, two may be quoted:—

REV. J. KEBLE TO E. B. P.

Bisley, July 1, 1843.

We got your sermon yesterday, and I make haste to thank you for it in my brother's name and Isaac's and my own, not doubting that I shall find that there is one waiting for me when I get back to Hursley. I am really quite at a loss to imagine how they can justify their sentence without condemning almost all the writers in your *Catena*, and certainly all the Fathers. Anyhow, you surely have done your part for Peace and Truth both, and I feel certain you will have no cause to regret what you have had to bear—even though it should have the effect, which I suppose we have much reason to fear, of bringing out a sad quantity of profane and low doctrine in most of the schools which make up the Church of England as we see it. If such evil exists, it may be better on many accounts that the fact should be known. There are, I suspect, many good persons who think themselves *Peculiaris*, who would draw back from that system if they understood that it really implies low views of the Blessed Sacrament.

In the meantime I am very sorry that your course of instruction on the remedies of post-baptismal sin should be so interrupted, and I hope that when you have refreshed your health, which for all our sakes you should now make your first care, you will go on with it in some other shape. Many a wounded conscience will bless you for it.

It is unpleasant to have hindered your having the comfort of expressing your sympathy with Newman, yet I cannot say that as yet I regret it on the whole. It seems to me more in keeping with the tone of your Preface, and the absence of all controversial topics.

With most grateful love,

I am, ever yours affectionately,

J. KEBLE.

Mr. Gladstone, who had signed the address of non-residents to the Vice-Chancellor, was especially satisfied with the justification of his action which the language of the sermon supplied.

W. E. GLADSTONE, ESQ., M.P., TO E. B. P.

13 Carlton House Terrace, June 30, 1843.

MY DEAR DR. PUSEY,

I have this morning received and read your sermon, and I beg you to accept my best thanks for your kindness in sending it to me.

Without presuming to go beyond my own sphere, I must say that the surprise and regret with which I first heard of the Vice-Chancellor's proceedings in relation to it are augmented by its perusal, and I am quite at a loss to account to myself for steps which seem so groundless. However unwarranted, they must be deeply painful to one whose feelings have ever been kept so much in harmony as yours with the actual Church of England, and it may at first sight seem strange that a blow of this kind should fall on such an one; but doubtless therein lies the special wisdom of the appointment. I cannot tell you with what warm appreciation I read your Preface.

With the earnest prayer that you may enjoy abundant support and guidance through these critical events,

I remain, my dear Dr. Pusey,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., &c.

Pusey was especially delighted with this generous letter, and often referred to it long after. His acknowledgment of it shows how his own hopeful temperament, and his unshaken trust in God, enabled him to treat the sentence which had been unjustly passed on him as a mere incident in the Divine plan for restoring true faith and a higher Christian life in his day and generation.

E. B. P. TO W. E. GLADSTONE, ESQ., M.P.

Pusey, July 22 [1843].

I have been wishing much to thank you for your kind letter, but my brother will have told you how little able I have been to write. It was a great comfort to me, being nearly, or altogether, the first I received; and although I was quite satisfied as to the meaning of my sermon, I had, after so much had been said, become anxious, in a degree, how it might strike English Churchmen, who could not have much direct acquaintance with the Fathers. As one of these, I was much cheered by your early letter, coming also when illness made me feel more anxiety than I might in health. On the whole, however, I have been and am of good cheer about this and all things which concern our Church. We cannot suppose that so great a restoration as is now going on in her should be without manifold drawbacks, and checks, and disquietudes, and sufferings. No great restoration ever

took place without them. But while all who are allowed any way to be concerned in it must expect their share, directly or indirectly, on the whole one must be of good courage. He will not, one trusts, leave His own work unfinished, and there seem so many rudiments of good everywhere, yet to be developed : so much which is promising yet perhaps not fixed or hardened enough to endure a fiery trial ; so many of His soldiers (as one trusts) yet in the wrong camp, that one cannot but hope that we shall have a breathing-time yet ; and although all these beginnings of strife seem but the preludes of some fearful conflict in which the Church shall be purged by suffering, one cannot but hope that He is holding back those gigantic powers of evil, with which we are encompassed, until He shall have called together His own army, so that none shall be by mistake upon the wrong side, and faint hearts be gradually strengthened.

This is my comfort also among the thickening troubles, which more immediately affect you ; you will have drawn your own comfort from the same consciousness of God's Providence, Who has not been wearied by our many provocations, but is manifesting Himself thus visibly among us. Yet mutual consciousness of the same trust encourages each, and so I have not scrupled to write it.

Hook had written to Pusey at once on hearing of the Vice-Chancellor's sentence.

Vicarage, Leeds, Whit Sunday [June 4], 1843.

MY POOR DEAR FRIEND,

Having been thinking of you, and praying for you all the week, and having gathered from the *Times* that all was going on well, I opened your letter on my way to church, that I might have greater joy on the festival—when lo ! the festival is turned into a fast ! My poor wife is crying over your Protest, and I can scarcely restrain myself. I remembered you this day at the altar.

What are you to do ? We have told our people so long to hate heresy and to regard as heresy what the Church pronounces to be such, and the Church and the University are so identified in the minds of men—University men—that I should think you ought to demand of the Bishop an investigation under the Church Discipline Act.

We must petition now for a Convocation of the Church.

We must urge strongly the necessity of the Bishops resigning their estates for the education of the poor. We shall never do well while we have rich Bishops.

I suppose that we in the country had better remain quiet for the present.

I hate to be called a Puseyite—it looks like an heretical denomination—but depend upon my standing by you in your prosecution. So will Churton, from whom I have heard. I am quite willing to resign

my living to-morrow if need shall be. But I really cannot go the length of Oakeley, Ward, &c.

May the God in Heaven bless and guide you.

Your devoted friend,

Love to Newman.

W. F. HOOK.

It was in accordance with this hearty and enthusiastic letter that Hook again wrote urging Pusey to come and preach in the Parish Church of Leeds during August. 'Your doing so,' he writes, 'would show that you are not silenced, and it would be the best means of letting my people perceive the affection and respect I entertain for you. I am anxious to find out some means of publicly marking my sympathy.' Pusey was obliged to decline. 'Both chest and limbs,' he wrote, 'are too weak. At first, too, I made up my mind not to preach anywhere during my suspension without the express sanction of the Bishop.'

Not to be baulked, Hook found another way of expressing his mind. He dedicated to Pusey a sermon, preached at the consecration of St. John the Baptist Church at Hawarden¹. The dedication stated that there had been an occasional difference of opinion between himself and Pusey on matters of importance, but Hook wished to record his 'respect for the profound learning, the unimpeachable orthodoxy, and the Christian temper with which, in the midst of a faithless and pharisaical generation,' Pusey 'had maintained the cause of true religion, and preached the pure, unadulterated Word of God.' 'By the publication of your truly evangelical sermon,' Hook continues, 'you have put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.' This sentence expresses what ought to have been rather than what was the case, but Pusey was much touched and gratified, and only anxious to minimize the allusion to 'differences' between them to which Hook had felt bound to refer.

Before the sermon appeared the Act Term had come to an end, and Oxford was deserted. The Commemoration of

¹ See 'The Church and her Ordinances,' vol. ii. No. 20; Stephens' 'Life of Hook,' 6th ed., p. 343.

June 28, 1843, was signalized by an extraordinary uproar in the Theatre, occasioned partly by the unpopularity of one of the Proctors, and partly by a proposal to confer an honorary D.C.L. degree on the American Minister, Mr. Everett, who was a Socinian. Upon the decree being submitted in the usual form to Convocation, it was received with cries of Non-placet; but the degree was conferred in spite of a demand for the scrutiny of votes, which, it was asserted, had not been heard in the noise.

It will be remembered that at the time the University was still a Christian corporation, every one of whose members professed their acceptance of the Creeds and other formularies of the Church. In the light of Pusey's recent suspension, the honour conferred on Mr. Everett could not but suggest to the world at large that the ruling powers at Oxford took but little pains to protect the central truth of our Lord's Divinity. Yet they had just expressed a narrow and intolerant antagonism to sacramental language, which was sanctioned by the primitive Fathers to whom the Church of England had always appealed, and which had the approval of a long catena of staid Anglican Divines.

It was no wonder that Pusey's health soon became a serious matter of anxiety to his relatives in the midst of all this trouble. He left Oxford as soon as Term was over, and stayed with his brother at Pusey House, and there he gradually became stronger. But that he should still feel his suspension deeply was inevitable in so sensitive a character. He brooded over the phrase in the Vice-Chancellor's sentence, 'criminis reum,' and, as occasion offered, he withdrew from intimacy with those who had condemned the doctrine of the sermon. 'I continued my intercourse,' he afterwards said, 'with Dr. Jelf, telling him I was quite sure he could not have condemned the sermon. It would have seemed indifference to truth that those who condemned it should have continued on friendly terms with me.' A fortnight after the sentence he met Dr. Ogilvie in the street, and showed by his manner that he thought a friendly greeting out of place and insincere. He appears

to have written later in the year to the Warden of Wadham and the Provost of Oriel, letters which stated or implied that their old friendship could not be maintained after all that had passed. All three were much pained ; Dr. Symons and Dr. Hawkins entered into an elaborate justification of the part they had taken. It might be deemed an open question whether Pusey was entirely well-advised in this. No one who was intimately acquainted with him can doubt that the condemnation of a truth of such importance appeared to him a grievous wrong against God, and that he could not with any sincerity condone such a condemnation. Besides, he would have been more than human if he had not felt the gross injustice of the treatment that he had received. But it was perhaps inevitable that the world at large, who did not know him, would suppose him to be swayed by personal feelings only. He resumed his friendship with Dr. Ogilvie and Hawkins ten years afterwards, when he had again preached the doctrine for which he had been condemned, and in more explicit terms, from the University pulpit, and without a word of public censure.

Pusey had protested against his sentence as unstatutable as well as unjust : and this opinion was supported by many persons of legal eminence. Sir Roundell Palmer (now the Earl of Selborne) had 'a very strong opinion in the matter of the Six Doctors, namely, that what the Vice-Chancellor had done was quite illegal, and must, and would be, set aside upon appeal to any superior authority, having jurisdiction of the matter.' It had been suggested that an application should be made to the Court of Queen's Bench for a prohibition to prevent the Vice-Chancellor from taking any steps for carrying his 'pretended sentence' into effect. Sir Roundell had no doubt that such a course would not be inconsistent with the oath Dr. Pusey had taken as a member of the University.

Pusey then was morally justified in entertaining the question of an application to the Queen's Bench, and Newman's opinion that he must do so for the sake of waverers decided him.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, July 31, 1843.

The lawyers in London are, I am told, very strong in recommending you to go into the Queen's Bench, or the like. Badeley was going to write to me about it, but he has not yet. I do feel very much that in a great question such as this you should neither have the fidget nor the onus of acting for yourself, but should choose, as it were, a committee for you, and let them act. If your suspension passes *sub silentio*, it is in vain to tell people who are inclined towards Rome that the world thinks you wronged. Did I wish to lead on persons towards Rome, my best step would be to recommend acquiescence on your part. I feel as strongly as you can the calamity of *failing* in such an attempt. But the lawyers at present seem to think that there is no risk of this.

Accordingly Pusey took counsel with Mr. E. Badeley and Mr. James Hope, who encouraged him to think that the laws of the University might yet afford the desired redress; and that there might be some tribunal at Oxford before which a suit *Querela nullitatis* might be instituted. But before anything could be done it was necessary to be justified with a legal opinion. In drawing up the case Pusey's friends in the Temple found themselves face to face with a serious difficulty. Even in a matter of this importance, Pusey had characteristically kept no copies¹ of his letters to the Vice-Chancellor, or of the papers which had been transmitted to him for signature. On applying to the Vice-Chancellor for permission to see either all the communications or at least his own letters, Pusey met with a courteous refusal. The consequence was that Pusey's case was never fully placed before the eminent counsel whose opinions he asked. It contained Pusey's account of what had happened and copies of the Vice-Chancellor's letters to Pusey, but none of Pusey's letters to the Vice-Chancellor, and none of the documents sent to Pusey through Dr. Jelf. With such incomplete materials a case was drawn up and submitted to the Queen's Advocate, the

¹ This habit of neglect lasted throughout his life. In his later years, in deference to the wishes of younger friends, he would allow copies to be made of important letters.

Attorney-General, and the Solicitor-General. The two first, Sir J. Dodson and Sir Frederick Pollock, were of opinion that, 'as Dr. Pusey was not cited, or permitted to be heard in his defence, the sentence pronounced against him by the Vice-Chancellor was a nullity in law, and that the *Querela nullitatis* would lie, and might be prosecuted before the Vice-Chancellor in person.' If the Vice-Chancellor refused to entertain it, Dr. Pusey had a remedy at common law by *Mandamus*. The Solicitor-General, Sir W. Follett, delayed his answer for some time, and at last gave an opinion which weakened the effect of the preceding one. He raised a question as to the character in which the Vice-Chancellor and his assistants must be considered to have acted. If they constituted a criminal court, then their sentence would be invalid, because Dr. Pusey had not been heard in his defence. But if the statute under which they acted be taken merely as one of the regulations of the University for those who voluntarily choose to become members of it, and agree to its rules, then the rules of the ordinary courts of law were not applicable. The statute, Sir W. Follett thought, did not necessarily require a hearing; and his impression was that the courts of law, if applied to, would not interfere in the case.

As Pusey meant to raise the question of the validity of his sentence in a court of law, he was bound to assume its invalidity by a formal act. When his turn to preach before the University came round, he could not, legally speaking, allow himself to acquiesce in the supposition that the Vice-Chancellor's sentence debarred him from the exercise of his privilege.

E. B. P. TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

As my proper turn of preaching as Canon in the Cathedral of Christ Church will be on Sunday, the 12th of next month, I wish to renew the protest, which I have already offered, against the proceedings taken against me, as being unstatutable and void.

I wish then formally to state that it is my desire to fulfil the duties of my office and to take the turn of preaching belonging to it, and

I would request you to inform me whether you prohibit me from so doing.

I remain, Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

Your humble servant,

Christ Church, Oct. 30, 1843.

E. B. PUSEY.

The Vice-Chancellor replied as might, perhaps, have been expected.

THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR TO E. B. P.

St. John's College, Oct. 31, 1843.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th instant.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Rev. Dr. Pusey.

P. WYNTER, V.-C.

Had the counsel, whose opinions had been taken, been unanimous, the Vice-Chancellor's position might have been shaken, or Pusey might have carried the case into a common-law court. As it was, the difference of opinion, the obsolescence of the proposed method of proceeding, and a general distrust of University courts, led Pusey, after some delay, to abandon any further effort in this direction.

When there was no longer any prospect of obtaining redress from the authorities of the University, through the intervention of a civil court, Pusey fell back upon the course which he had wished to follow immediately after his suspension. In those days the spiritual character of the ecclesiastical courts had not yet come into question; and he determined to raise the question of his orthodoxy in them. This course was in every way more welcome to him than the other. A question of religious truth could not be decided elsewhere than in a Church court. He had a conversation on the subject with Mr. J. Hope immediately after his suspension, who was clearly of opinion that no privileges of the University would, as Pusey feared was possible, prevent the suit under the Church Discipline Act.

This idea, as we have seen, was set aside, for a time, when Pusey was endeavouring, under advice, to take another course. Upon the failure of that endeavour, he fell back

upon his earlier and more congenial plan of an ecclesiastical suit, with a theological, as distinct from a merely legal, issue. The proposal now was that Mr. H. A. Woodgate, Rector of Belbroughton, late Fellow of St. John's College, should institute a friendly suit against Pusey, with a view to testing the theological soundness of the sermon.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Aug. 21, 1844.

. . . Personally I prefer the plan of being prosecuted by Woodgate to being prosecutor, but I wished to do simply what seemed best. I have no answer as yet from H[ope]. The decision would thus be on the doctrine, not on the form, and it would be a judicial decision in favour of the truth. At least, one could not contemplate anything so miserable as a contrary decision, although I suppose I ought, as matter of earnestness, to be prepared to hold my professorship by the issue. Anyhow, I should need the prayers of my friends that what is good should not, on occasion of me, turn to evil. . . .

May He bless you for all your love.

Ever your most affectionate and grateful friend,

E. B. P.

In mentioning the subject to Keble, Pusey gives another reason for wishing to carry the case into an ecclesiastical court :—

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Christ Church, Vigil of St. Sim. and St. J., 1844.

With regard to my own affairs, my object has been N[ewman]. I felt that evil had come upon the Church on occasion of me, and he feels so acutely everything connected with heresy and heretical judgements, that I felt bound to do everything which in me lay to remedy it. Else I should have myself looked upon the act as the mere informal decision of the Vice-Chancellor and the majority of his advisers, but not committing the University, unless it should recognize it by any subsequent act. . . .

Ever yours gratefully and affectionately,

E. B. P.

Accordingly, Pusey formally applied to the Bishop of Oxford.

E. B. P. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Christ Church, Oct. 12, 1844.

. . . Ever since my sentence my friends have been wishing that in some way or other it should be set aside. My own long illness, and then the extreme difficulty of the case, owing to the confusion

of our statutes, and other circumstances over which they had no control, delayed any decision until almost now. The only legal remedy, they find, is so intricate and obsolete, and unused in the University, that it becomes a question whether it should be tried. There is not the slightest doubt that the sentence was illegal, but the remedy is precarious.

But this leaves things in a very uncomfortable state. To you, I may speak freely. I have been condemned, and with me the doctrine I taught, for above a year, and no one has said anything in my behalf. To the laity this seems as if I were really condemned. They do not know the legal difficulties, and suppose that if there was a wrong there would be a remedy; that if I had not been rightly condemned, I could have redress. I have had painful experience of this. At Clifton, where I have been for years in the habit of preaching and administering the Holy Communion, so much and in part such indecent offence was taken at my assisting in administering the Holy Communion, that I have been obliged to desist. I am looked upon as one condemned. Nor would this cease by the mere expiration of my sentence. The cessation of the sentence is no acquittal. I am crippled in everything I do. Except with my friends, who think too kindly of me, I am an object of suspicion everywhere. . . . A friend of my own (Mr. Woodgate) will apply to your lordship to issue a Commission on my printing a sermon which had been already condemned in the University. Had the sermon been rightly condemned, this would have been a most grave offence, much graver than preaching it originally.

I do then most earnestly implore your lordship not to refuse the Commission. I have no anxiety whatever about the issue if you grant it. I am quite sure that I can substantiate all the doctrine of my sermon to be that of the Church of England. Your lordship is the Bishop to whom I might most look for help in this; you have, I know, suffered in private through the imputations on the soundness of my teaching. Such a step would produce manifold good; it would tend to reassure people's minds which were grievously shaken; it would settle what doctrine is allowed in our Church; it would take off the pressure of this condemnation, take the question out of an unecclesiastical court, and settle it according to the authority of our divines of the Church. On the other hand, without such a course, I see nothing before me but deeper and more miserable confusion.

Your lordship cannot appreciate what it is to feel that the truth has been condemned through one's-self, and people's minds unsettled; none can, save one to whom it has happened.

I do then beseech your lordship, if you think that I have, during these ten years, laboured, with others worthier than myself, in the restoration of sound doctrine and for the well-being of our Church, not to refuse me the means of being freed from these difficulties, and of having a fair trial. . . .

I hardly know whether I have explained clearly what I wish your lordship to do: a friend of mine will request your lordship to issue a Commission under the Church Discipline Act, to inquire whether there be *prima facie* ground for considering whether my sermon be unsound (this ground my condemnation itself furnishes), and then to send on the cause to the highest ecclesiastical court (the Archbishop's).

The Bishop naturally asked Pusey why he did not endeavour to obtain a remedy in the University court. Pusey in reply described to the Bishop what he had endeavoured to do and what had been the result. He had now no other means of obtaining a fair trial excepting through the Archbishop's court. As matters stood, he could preach nowhere without having the express sanction of the Bishop: and he was said to have been 'justly condemned for having taught Transubstantiation.' If the Bishop should feel hesitation on the technical ground of the publication of the sermon within the precincts of the University, Pusey would republish it at Reading, to 'keep the question clear of the University.'

Bishop Bagot, as was his wont, asked the Primate what he advised. The Archbishop was 'pained' at what he thought a very morbid sensitiveness on Pusey's part. In a second letter he gives reasons against entertaining Pusey's proposal.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Addington, Oct. 30, 1844.

I have looked with attention at the 86th of the 3rd and 4th of Victoria, and am confirmed by it in the opinion which I at first expressed respecting the inexpediency of the proceeding proposed by Dr. Pusey. By this act a discretion is left to the Bishop of proceeding or not, on complaint being made to him. *It shall be lawful for the Bishop*; but this is not followed by—*and he is hereby required*. And even if the clause were decidedly compulsory, it could only relate to a complaint made *bona fide*.

In the present case the accuser must come forward with a charge of heresy—which at the same time he believes to be unfounded. The Commissioners appointed to inquire (*if the cause is to proceed*) must report that there is sufficient *prima facie* grounds for instituting proceedings against the party accused, and if the Bishop shall *think*

fit to proceed against the party accused, articles must be drawn up, &c.

From this it appears that, in order to bring the case before a higher tribunal, the Commissioners must be satisfied that there is ground for the charges, and the Bishop must agree with them in opinion.

If this is their real opinion, the proceeding will not be much to the advantage of the accused; if not, both the Commissioners and the Bishop will be implicated in a transaction of rather a dubious character, certainly not straightforward. These considerations I should apprehend are decisive. If we look to expediency, it is evident that nothing could be more inconvenient to the Bishop than to be called on to proceed against authors of publications in which erroneous opinions on points of theology are advanced. Such complaints would be preferred against persons of all parties, and I do not see how you could refuse entertaining any complaint after having proceeded in the case of Dr. Pusey. For on the supposition that the sermon in question contains matter of heresy, it is evident that his object in publishing was not to disseminate false doctrine, but to vindicate himself in the eyes of the public from the charge. And it would surely be hard that the step which he has taken in self-defence should subject him to prosecution, and especially if other publications, of a decidedly offensive character, are unnoticed. The real object of the proceeding would, however, be generally understood, and I cannot but think that whatever might be the issue, contentions would be multiplied without any benefit to the parties concerned, and offence needlessly given to the University, which a Bishop of Oxford would of course wish to avoid.

In stating my opinion, I do not wish to dissuade your lordship from taking a legal opinion if you have any doubts. You will act right in doing so.

I am sorry that Dr. Pusey should feel as he does on this painful subject. I see no necessity for his resigning his professorship, and I trust that he will reconsider the matter, and not act under the influence of excited feelings in this respect.

I remain, my dear Lord,

Your faithful servant,

The Lord Bishop of Oxford.

W. CANTUAR.

In a later note the Archbishop reinforces these arguments by observing that Bishop Bagot could not allow the case to go forward without implicitly 'passing on the sermon a judgment so unfavourable as to render some further proceeding necessary.' For this, it is implied, the Bishop would not be prepared. The Bishop of Oxford, accordingly, forwarded to Pusey the Primate's letter, with his own decision.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR SIR,

Blithfield, Nov. 5, 1844.

Although I have been long in giving a final answer to your letter, I can assure you the delay has not arisen from inattention to the subject, to which I have given the best consideration in my power from the first, and which has caused me much anxiety. The subject, too, is one of so grave a character, involving so many considerations, that this (coupled with my wish to do what you thought but justice to yourself, if it could be done with propriety) led me not to trust my own judgement. I therefore placed the correspondence in the Archbishop's hands, anxious for a better opinion than my own as to the strict legality of the proceeding, and wishing also to know whether he coincided in my doubts and feelings as to the nature of the projected measure; to speak plainly, whether, in his opinion, I ought to become a party to what, from the first, I thought bore the appearance of an indirect and doubtful transaction. I felt it, too, to be a case in which it became a *Bishop's duty* to consult the Archbishop, and to obtain his unbiassed opinion.

I now enclose his letter to me, which expresses every sentiment I have felt from the first; and the more I have considered the subject, the deeper those first impressions have become fixed. One point, however, has been omitted, viz. that if I were to issue a Commission, it must be for the purpose of ascertaining the *authorship*, not of obtaining information in respect to the *doctrine*; of THAT I must be supposed to have formed my own judgement, and that judgement so unfavourable as to render further proceeding necessary. Here again I should be placed in a false position.

In conclusion, my dear Sir, I must distinctly state that I cannot consent to become a party to what I consider not to be a *straight-forward* proceeding. I feel strongly for the painful position in which you have been placed, and I feel sure that you have, in your natural anxiety to do what you consider only justice to yourself, overlooked many points, in the scheme suggested by some of your friends, which would not have escaped you, had you been called upon to judge calmly in another's case; and, further, I am confident you would not wish me to become a party to what I could not look upon as an open upright course, even if, upon consideration, you disagreed with me in that opinion.

I trust however that you will calmly reconsider the matter, and not suffer my inability to accede to your request to induce you to take, what I really think would be a rash and uncalled-for step, were you to resign your professorship.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

With sincere esteem, faithfully yours,

The Rev. Dr. Pusey.

R. OXFORD.

Pusey had little heart to answer the Bishop: in returning the Archbishop's letter he commented on its arguments, and once more stated his reasons for wishing that the case could have been tried in the Court of Arches. To this last appeal the Bishop seems to have made no reply. He had already decided on his course; and indeed it would have been difficult for him, after asking the Primate's counsel, to set it aside. When this became clear to Pusey, he fell back once more upon the idea of a suit in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, and again consulted Mr. Badeley.

'I am not surprised,' wrote Mr. Badeley, 'at the Bishop's determination, nor do I altogether complain of it, though I think what he says about *straightforwardness* somewhat absurd. The object was a legitimate one, and the course sufficiently straightforward to satisfy any casuist.'

After pointing out more at length the difficulties of prosecuting a suit of *Querela nullitatis*, from its 'unusual' character, Mr. Badeley added:—

'I talked about the case this morning to Roundell Palmer, and his opinion was, in which I am disposed to concur with him, that if you are anxious on your own account, and for your own vindication, to proceed, it may be proper to do so; but if it is merely for the satisfaction of others, and under an idea of keeping them in the Church, that it is not worth while; for that none who are so far on the road to Rome will be turned back by any results of the *Querela*. Dodson, Hope, Palmer, and all of us regard the sentence as no *ecclesiastical* censure; as quite independent of *the Church*; as a mere arbitrary and unconstitutional exercise of magisterial authority in the University; and, if it be so, persons have no right to regard it in any other point of view, or to take offence at any imaginary assumption of their own inconsistent with the real merits of the case.'

Even if a suit in a civil court were successful, and the Vice-Chancellor's sentence were annulled as illegal, he might then claim to give Pusey a hearing, and then inflict a censure in a more regular form. Pusey of course thought that his theological position was too impregnable for anything of the kind to happen; but he forgot how little weight would be attached to strictly theological considerations, and, in spite of what had happened, was too sanguine

about receiving an impartial hearing on the merits of the case.

A legal vindication of himself now seemed hopeless ; but Pusey could still, as he thought, fall back upon one consolation. He had, he believed, the good opinion of his Bishop, at least so far that his Bishop would not condemn the doctrine of his sermon. He asked the Bishop to allow him, for the comfort and support of others, to state this to the world.

The answer however was unfavourable : more unfavourable, we may venture to think, than it would have been two or three years before. On the one hand the current of public opinion was now running strongly in one direction, and on the other hand those in authority were beginning to recognize that the revival of true Anglican principles, with its appeal to the Primitive Church, really involved logical consequences far beyond what had been contemplated by the old High Churchism with which they had originally identified it. Bishop Bagot was sorry that Pusey should have misunderstood his meaning.

In saying that to allow the suit to proceed, he would be placed in 'a false position,' the Bishop was not referring to the doctrine of the sermon ; the 'false position' was that of issuing a commission to ascertain the authorship of the sermon, about which there was no room for doubt.

'You are, of course,' he added, 'at full liberty to state your application to me that I would issue a commission of inquiry and then transmit the matter to the Court of Arches, as also your readiness to resign your professorship, and my opinion that you were not called upon to take that step ; but I cannot accede to your request on the grounds that my refusal to issue that commission was from approbation of your sermon, as this would not be correct.'

The Bishop, it will be observed, still did not condemn the sermon ; he only would not allow that the course on which he had resolved was determined by his recognition of its orthodoxy, or had any reference whatever to its theological merits. All that was left was that Pusey should despondently apologize for his misunderstanding.

There was no more to be done: Pusey had to wait for more than a year until his next University sermon gave him the opportunity of repeating, without challenge, all the doctrine for which he had been condemned. But the mischief had then been done.

The history of this miserable episode has been given at length; for it was critical both for the University and the Church. Dean Church says, 'that though it was the mistake of upright and conscientious men, the policy of the authorities was wrong, stupid, unjust, pernicious¹.' 'If the men,' he says, 'who ruled the University had wished to disgust and alienate the Masters of Arts, and especially the younger ones who were coming forward into power and influence, they could not have done better².' So far as the University is concerned, this act, in connexion with the similar acts of 1841 and 1845, may be said to have sealed the doom of the old *régime*—the authority of the Heads, and the old ecclesiastical polity of Oxford. Tories must have seen the hopelessness, Liberals the impossibility of things remaining as they were. It was a call for great University Reform. So far as the Church was concerned, it was very disastrous. It showed the younger men that they had nothing to hope for from the typical men of the older generation. A narrow and ignorant view of the Anglican Formularies, not as they were meant to be, but as two or three generations—partly careless, partly bigoted, partly untheological—had taken them to be, was to be stereotyped and thrust on all the Church, clergy and laity alike. It made men either despair of Anglicanism, or realize what they had to expect if they remained true to their Church awaiting its deliverance. If Pusey, with his learning, piety and position could be treated in this way, what were others to expect?

And the lesson in one notable direction went deeply home.

¹ 'The Oxford Movement,' p. 293.

² *Ibid.* 290.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIX.

CORRESPONDENCE ON THE CONDEMNED SERMON.

E. B. P. TO THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR¹.

[Private and Confidential.]

MY DEAR MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

As a private act, I willingly give my opinion on the several statements which have been put into my hands.

No. 1 I can adopt entirely, as being in the words of our Formularies; only in one place, I have inserted the full words of our rubric, which I supposed you intended, thinking it safer to adhere to those words.

I feel that I ought to say that in adopting these words I do not imply (what they do not imply) that I do not fully believe the real, though *spiritual*, Presence of our Blessed Saviour's Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist, although the *mode* of that Presence, with Bishop Andrewes, Archbishop Bramhall, and others, I leave undefined as a mystery.

I may refer to the following authorities in our own Church as maintaining the doctrine of a real spiritual Presence, in the same way in which I myself hold it. Bishop *Andrewes* (Resp. ad Card. Bell. c. i, p. 11), Bishop *Overall* (Notes on the C. P.), Bishop *Forbes* (Consid. Mod. de Euch. i. 1. 7), Bishop *Morton* (Catholic Appeal, p. 93), Bishop *Bilson* (quoted and approved by Bishop *White* (Conf. with Fisher, p. 178), Archbishop *Laud* (Conf. with Fisher, p. 294), Archbishop *Bramhall* (Works, p. 226), Bishop *Taylor* (On the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Sacrament, i. 8; Works, ix. 427), Bishop *Cosin* (Hist. of Trans. iii. § 2), Dean *Jackson* (On the Creeds, B. xi. c. 4), Bishop *Sparrow* (Rationale upon Book of Common Prayer, p. 216), Bishop *Fell* (on 1 Cor. xi. 23), Bishop *Ken* (Expos. of Church Cat.), Bishop *Beveridge* (Nec. and adv. of freq. Comm., pp. 203-7 and on Art. XXVIII.), Archbishop *Sharp* (Serm. on Transubstantiation, vol. vii.), and recently the present *Bishop of Exeter* (quoting Archbishop Bramhall, Sharp, and Wake, as also Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer).

To the first part of No. 2, I should except in *point of form*, because it is no part of our authorized Formularies, and there is no authority,

¹ See above, p. 324.

and it might be a dangerous precedent to admit the right of individuals to propose Formulæ drawn up without sanction, for subscription.

I do not know also whether, if I adopted it, I should use it in your sense or no. The words [continuation or] are to me ambiguous.

The word which I used occurs in Bishop Overall (who was employed to draw up the part of our Catechism on the Sacraments), and as people are wont to appeal to the authors of the Thirty-nine Articles, I may in the same way appeal to the writer of this part of our Formularies. He says on the words of the Consecration Prayer—'sufficient Sacrifice,'—'This word refers to the Sacrifice mentioned before, for we still continue and commemorate that Sacrifice, which Christ once made upon the Cross, and this Sacrifice which the Church makes is only commemorative and sacramental¹.'

The latter part of No. 2, I, of course, entirely and cordially adopt, being again the statement of our Church.

I would say further that I did not understand the passages of St. Augustine quoted as having any reference to the doctrine of the Sacrifice; it was altogether not in my mind when I quoted them; nor, in my own words quoted (p. 9), did I at all connect the remission of sins with the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, but, as in all which preceded, with the reception of the Holy Eucharist.

I hope, I need scarcely say, that I believe the only 'meritorious' Sacrifice to have been offered by our Blessed Lord, once for all, upon the cross. Yet I cannot but hold, with the great current of our divines, that the commemorating, pleading, showing forth, representing, to Almighty God in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, that One meritorious Sacrifice, is well-pleasing to God and obtains His favour to His Church.

3. To the first part of this which I have enclosed in brackets I must object, not only on the ground upon which I objected to the beginning of No. 2, but also because it goes beyond the Formularies of our Church; the latter part (as being the words of our Formularies) I of course entirely accept.

With regard to the first part, our Church says absolutely nothing. It has retained the ancient words, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ,' with reference to the consecrated elements, and says, 'The Body of Christ is *given*, taken and eaten in the Supper; only after a spiritual, and heavenly manner,' which has been pointed out as connecting It with the consecrated elements, which are *given* by the minister and *taken* by the communicant.

¹ Cf. Cosin, Works, v. p. 106. In the last clause of this quotation, Cosin adopts as his own the words of Maldonatus. That these notes were not Overall's but Cosin's is shown by his edition, *ib.* pref. xv. In 1843 the

traditional view which ascribed them to Overall still held its ground; the 5th vol. of Cosin's Works in the Anglo-Catholic Library only appeared twelve years later.

A number, accordingly, of our divines¹ use the language of the Ancient Church that bread and wine become [sacramentally and in a mystery] the Body and Blood of Christ. Bishop Overall says, 'Herein we follow the Fathers, who, after consecration, would not suffer it to be called bread and wine any longer, but the Body and Blood of Christ².'

I believe fully and entirely that 'the substance of bread and wine' remains after consecration; that the 'Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner,' and that 'the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith,'—and believing this *ex animo*, I should think it an invasion of the liberty of conscience to be required to state that about which our Formularies have said nothing.

Bishop Cosin was permitted to state the precise contrary to what is here required. He says, 'Our faith does not cause or make that Presence, but apprehends it as most truly and really effected by the Word of Christ, and the faith whereby we are said to eat the Flesh of Christ is not that only whereby we believe that He died for our sins, but more properly that whereby we believe those words of Christ, "This is My Body"³.'

Bishop Overall distinctly rejects their opinion, 'who think that the Body of Christ is present only in the use of the Sacrament and in the act of eating, and not otherwise⁴.' Our Church also by directing that 'if any remain of that which was consecrated,—the Priest and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall immediately after the Blessing, *reverently* eat and drink the same,' while she allows the Curate to have 'any unconsecrated' for his own use, seems to show that she regards them *extra usum* as different from ordinary bread and wine.

To sum up in a few words, I disclaim any interpretation of my words, which implies anything 'fleshly, carnal,' or, as Bishop Overall⁵ says, 'physical and sensual.' I declare solemnly that I had in writing that sermon no thoughts except of what was spiritual, and as Bishop Overall again says, 'after an heavenly and incomprehensible manner⁶.' In the very words which have been

¹ 'Bp. Taylor. Thorndike, Bp. Sparrow, Johnson, Herbert, Bp. Beveridge, Brett, Bp. Wilson, Wheatley; to the same effect Bp. Andrewes, Archbishop Bramhall, Bp. Montagu, Bp. Cosin, Sutton, Grabe. The language that we receive "*the very Body and Blood of Christ*" is used by Sutton, Bailey, Bp. White, Archbishop Laud, Bp. Cosins, Bp. Fell, Bp. Hackett, Bp. Ken, Bp. Beveridge, Archbishop Sharp, Leslie, Johnson. Bp. Taylor directly says that we receive the same which was born of

the Blessed Virgin, though spiritually. I do not add references, as before, to save time.'

² The language is that of Bishop Cosin: Works, v. p. 121.

³ 'Hist. of Transubstantiation,' ch. iii. § 4. Works, iv. 171.

⁴ Here again Pusey quotes Cosin and not Overall. Cf. Cosin's Works, v. p. 131.

⁵ i. e. Bishop Cosin, *ubi supra*.

⁶ Cosin's Works, v. 131, 'after an heavenly, and invisible, and incomprehensible manner.'

quoted, 'elements of this world, &c.,' I meant to express both my denial of Transubstantiation and that I had no thoughts as to the *mode* of the Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. This, I may say, has been the constant habit of my mind, in all my teaching, and this I have ever expressed when writing (which I was not here) controversially. In the words of Archbishop Bramhall (translating those of Bishop Andrewes), 'Christ said, "This is My Body"; what He said, we do steadfastly believe. He said not after this manner, that manner, *neque con, neque sub, neque trans*. And therefore we place it among the opinions of the schools, not among the articles of our faith. The Holy Eucharist, which is the Sacrament of peace and unity, ought not to be made the matter of strife and contention.' (Answer to M. de la Milletière, beg.¹) I would rather say with Bishop Andrewes, 'Of the mode of the Presence we define nothing rashly, nor, I add, *do we curiously inquire*, no more than how the Blood of Christ cleanseth us in our baptism; no more than how in the Incarnation of Christ, the human nature is united into the same Person with the Divine?'

I have given my explanation at greater length than I meant, that I might seem to hold back nothing. It would have been easy for me to have taken the negative propositions exhibited to me, and have expressed my adoption of them, but it did not seem to me honest and satisfactory, because, as being negative, they would not express all my meaning.

Yet having given this explanation, I must say that I do it because I conceive you to have sent me the propositions and objections as an act of kindness, instead of any proposition of my own, which I might be required to retract.

But if this private explanation fail to satisfy you, I must respectfully apply for the other, as the only statutable course. I must say that to me the past course of inquiry into my sermon, such as these 'objections' imply, seems to me an undue extension of the statutes. The statute speaks of certain definite statements which shall be retracted—'ad ea, quae protulit, recantandum adiget.' The passages objected to are not supposed (I conceive) to be such as could be proposed to any one to recant (some of them are words of the Fathers), but only, it is supposed, that a certain opinion is implied in them. I am sure that no proposition could be formed from my sermon contrary to the Formularies of our Church, which I adopt. This sort of 'constructive' disagreement with the Formularies of the Church seems to me something very different from that contemplated by the statute, which refers to definite statements.

¹ Bramhall's Works, i. p. 8.

² 'Resp. ad Bell.,' c. i. p. 11 [13]: 'Praesentiam (inquam) credimus, nec minus quam vos, veram. De modo praesentiae nil temerè definimus, addo, nec anxie inquirimus; non magis

quam in baptismo nostro, quomodo abluat nos Sanguis Christi, non magis quam in Christi incarnatione, quomodo naturae Divinae humana in eandem hypostasin uniatur.'

Conscious of my own innocence, I cannot contemplate anything ulterior; yet although I am quite sure that you personally mean everything which is kind towards me individually, I must say that I should consider any ulterior measure, founded on such constructive objections as are here alleged, without exhibiting to me what I have asked for in such case, definite propositions of my own and *not adhering to our Formularies*, as unstatutable as well as harsh and unjust.

I am sure, my dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that you will not think these strong words, as meant otherwise than with respect to your office and a sense of personal kindness: but there is too much at stake for me to think it right to withhold my strong feeling on this subject.

I remain, my dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

Yours very faithfully,

Christ Church, May 31 [1843].

E. B. PUSEY.

THE REV. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR TO E. B. P.¹

St. John's College, Saturday evening [June 3, 1843].

MY DEAR PUSEY,

I do not at all press upon you the adoption of the words which I proposed to-day. If anybody were likely to draw from them the inference you suggest they ought to be avoided.

You state your impressions as to what has passed between us: allow me to state mine.

When the decision as to the sermon was pronounced, it remained for me to select one of the two courses prescribed by the statute. To suspension I had the greatest aversion without at least giving you the opportunity of showing whether you could recant. With this view, and in order to spare you from being brought before the tribunal which had given judgement upon the sermon merely to say that you would not recant, I endeavoured with the help of the Provost of Oriel to frame a document to which if you had assented, nothing would have remained but some formal proceeding in accordance with it. But this you did not do: you proposed modifications, and you excepted against a word which was of considerable importance as being an indication of particular opinions. You also objected to adopting words which did not occur in the Formularies of the Church—an objection which I did not consider valid, because having in your sermon raised a suspicion that you held something contrary to what the Church held, it would not have been possible to allay such a suspicion by confining yourself simply to the language of the Formularies. You also requested that if you were called upon to recant you should have the very words of the sermon put before you for that purpose, as the statute (I admit) enjoins. Seeing then that

¹ See above, p. 334.

you could not adopt the paper first proposed to you, I next endeavoured to ascertain whether you would be likely to recant the very words of the sermon, and for this purpose passages were selected as a specimen of what might be required under that head; but to these also you made objections, and the utmost that could be said of the statements which Dr. Jelf took down from your mouth was that they were qualifications of the language of the sermon. These two attempts to bring about a recantation having substantially failed, and it being strongly impressed on my mind that, besides particular objections, an exception had been taken to the general tenor of the sermon, which, of course, no recantation could touch, I at length made up my mind that no course remained but to proceed to what I felt to be a very severe measure, but nevertheless the only alternative, namely—suspension. This is my version of what has passed, and if it differs materially from yours it is because, as a matter of necessity, it was entrusted to a third person, who, however friendly to both of us and admirably qualified for a peacemaker, could not exactly put himself in the place of either.

With regard to my having consulted the Provost of Oriel, I feel satisfied that when Dr. Jelf returns this can be explained to you without any imputation upon my good faith.

In conclusion I leave you at liberty, as I shall feel myself to be, to say that 'certain private communications were made from me to you without leading to any mutually satisfactory result,' and that secrecy is imposed upon you as to the nature of those communications. I shall also consider you at liberty to publish your account of what has passed, if any reports of their nature affecting your character for truth, traceable to an authentic source, shall be circulated.

Believe me to remain,

Yours very faithfully,

P. WYNTER.

CHAPTER XXX.

NEWMAN'S RESIGNATION OF ST. MARY'S—LUCY PUSEY'S DEATH—ADAPTATION OF FOREIGN DEVOTIONAL BOOKS—RENEWED PROPOSAL TO TRANSLATE THE SARUM BREVIARY.

1843-1844.

PUSEY had been suspended at the end of the Summer Term of 1843. Before the next Term began, Newman had resigned the Vicarage of St. Mary's.

He has himself pointed out the significance of this step, and how it followed upon a long series of misgivings which had been created by his study of the Monophysite and Donatist controversies, and fostered by the affairs of the Jerusalem Bishopric, Tract 90, and the reiterated Episcopal Charges which had followed¹. Nor can it be doubted that the proceedings in connexion with Pusey's sermon on the Holy Eucharist had had their effect in hastening his resolution. All these events appeared to Newman to show that the English Church, so far as she was represented by Ecclesiastical authority in England, offered no welcome or home to primitive and Catholic teaching, but rather treated it as something foreign to her spirit.

As often happens, an incident of less moment, but touching Newman very closely, at last precipitated his decision. A young man who had been for a year living with him at Littlemore, and whose loyalty to the English Church had been the subject of correspondence between Newman and Pusey in August, 1842², suddenly joined the Church of

¹ 'Apologia,' pp. 333-354.

² See p. 290.

Rome¹. Newman 'felt it impossible to remain any longer in the service of the Anglican Church, when such a breach of trust, however little he had to do with it, would be laid at his door².' It made him realize most clearly how little control he really exercised over his younger followers, and also how great was the attraction of Rome to himself. 'The truth is,' he writes to J. B. Mozley on Sept. 1, 'I am not a good son enough of the Church of England to feel that I can in conscience hold preferment under her. I love the Church of Rome too well³.'

Pusey could not but be greatly distressed and shocked at such a decision, though it could not have taken him by surprise. Newman had talked to him as well as Keble on the subject in the preceding Lent. But Pusey had endeavoured to act on the maxim of hoping against hope in Newman's case so successfully that he had up to this point been blind to what was going on in Newman's mind, and still more to what was, humanly speaking, inevitable. From the year 1838 their paths had been diverging from each other. It may be doubted whether Pusey really appreciated the extent of the divergence. He constantly threw himself into Newman's language and position, out of love and trust and deference, and in cases where his own unbiassed inclinations would have counselled hesitation: and he received in turn from Newman constant proofs of affection and sympathy which, although never intended to do so, were likely to disguise the realities of the situation. Newman himself was well aware of this⁴: and Pusey, it must be added, had had opportunities of recognizing it too. Mr. T. Morris' remarkable letter in 1841⁵ was one of several indications which a less resolutely hopeful mind than Pusey's would have appreciated more accurately than he did. But it must be remembered that Keble, not Pusey, was at this eventful time Newman's real confidant: indeed this had been the case for some five years; as was natural

¹ 'Apologia,' pp. 299, 341.

² Ibid. p. 342.

³ Newman's 'Letters,' ii. 423.

⁴ See the instructive passage in

'Apologia,' pp. 354, 355.

⁵ See p. 228.

enough. For Keble was the older man, and sympathized more nearly with Newman's feelings as regards the Reformation. Of his strong inclination towards Rome, Keble of course was aware: to Pusey Newman could not at present break it. James Mozley was the only person in Oxford to whom he had explained the real state of things¹.

The first intimation to Pusey of his immediate intention of resigning was as follows:—

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Friday, Aug. 25 [1843].

With yours one has come from Lockhart, who has been away three weeks, saying he is on the point of joining the Church of Rome; he is in retreat under Dr. Gentili.

How sick this makes one! the sooner I resign St. Mary's the better—but I will not act hastily.

Pusey replied at once:—

Dover, 11 S. after Trinity, Aug. 27, 1843.

It is indeed very sad; I had hoped that once received within the *μονή* he was safe. It is the sorest trial of all: one becomes indifferent to what is said of, or done to, one's-self; one becomes accustomed to hear even those one loves and reverences evil-spoken-of, thinking it a consequence of what one loves and reverences in them; but these things are heavy, because one sympathizes with those who cause the sorrow, and our Church has not yet the strength to hold such. It is very dejecting, year after year, but it too must have its end, in humbling and purifying our Church.

I know the bitterness of losing at last those whom one tried to save; but 'blessed is he whom Thou chastenest, O Lord.'

With regard to St. Mary's, you will not have thought that, after what you told me, I had any feeling but that of sorrow, that it ought to be so. I thought that you probably meant to avoid connecting your resignation with any act, e.g. my suspension, lest it should cause perplexity. Some perplexity it must for the time cause; but everything else has been turned to good, and so will this too, and all which duty requires.

God comfort you at all times with that comfort wherewith you have comforted others and me.

Newman resigned his living on Sept. 18. Writing to Pusey three days later, Keble described himself as much

¹ Newman's 'Letters,' ii. 426.

grieved but not surprised at Newman's having given up St. Mary's, and asked Pusey what he thought of it. In the same letter he also asked how Pusey was accustomed to meet the Roman challenge about visible unity.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

[Sept. 23, 1843.]

N.'s giving up St. Mary's is a great blow; I said what I could against it in Lent, but he then told me a private reason, which he said he had named to you,—that young men, who looked in a given direction, misunderstood him, and interpreted in their own sense whatever he said, so that he was in fact leading them whither he wished not. He said that he had named this to you, and that you had said (to the effect) that 'you doubted whether in his situation you could retain St. Mary's without sin,' or 'whether he could retain it without sin.' After this, I had nothing more to say; had it been on public grounds only, I would have urged all I could, but, as it was matter of conscience, I dared say nothing. This seems hardly to agree with your impression; however, it is done now, so do not say anything to N. about my impression.

My feeling about unity is, I believe, the same as N[ewman's], that we have a degree of unity left, although not the highest sort, yet that there is enough to make the Roman, Greek, and our own Church parts of the one Church, though, with holiness, unity has been impaired, and we all together suffer for it. It has come as a comfort to me that most of the marks of unity, mentioned in Eph. iv, remain, and that so we may be one body still, as having the Presence of the One Spirit, One Lord, one hope, one faith (that of the Creeds sanctioned by the whole Church), one baptism, One God and Father of all. The very language of St. Cyprian seems also a comfort, since he insists so much that what is really cut off must die; since then our present state after 300 years shows that, however maimed, we have a vigorous and increasing life, we are not cut off. I cannot but strongly hope that however the Reformation may have been carried on, it has been overruled, so that our Church should be the means of some great end in acting upon the whole Church, and that through her means we may all be brought into one upon some primitive basis. At present, we seem providentially kept apart, lest we borrow each others' sins. If but holiness grow in both, then all the hindrances to union will somehow fall off, like Samson's withs. While then we are promoting, by His help, truth and holiness, we are in the most direct way preparing for union.

I cannot think much of the Roman challenge for a more visible unity, which one should have expected from Holy Scripture, until they can show the holiness also, which Holy Scripture foretells; if they did, or when they do, we shall soon be at one. At present, the whole Church seems to have forfeited the highest degrees of both; it was

through want of holiness that the schism of East and West began ; good Romanists confess that the schism *at* the Reformation was owing to the sins of the whole Church ; with returning holiness unity in its higher degrees would return.

It seems as if heavy times were coming, and that we were but at 'the beginning of sorrows.' However, we do 'see our signs'; so heavy nights are but to usher in a joyous morning.

Ever your very affectionate and grateful friend,

E. B. P.

Two days after writing this letter, on Monday, Sept. 25, Pusey was at Littlemore, on an occasion sadly memorable in the history of the English Church. It was the seventh anniversary of the consecration of the chapel¹, and as Newman had resigned St. Mary's just a week before, it was understood that this would be his farewell sermon: perhaps only a few felt instinctively that it might be, as it was, his last sermon from a pulpit of the Church of England. But whether clearly or dimly, the importance of the occasion was realized ; and although it was vacation and a Monday morning, and a day without any place in the Church calendar, the chapel was full of friends who had come from Oxford. The service was, as always, simple: on the previous anniversary Newman had described the ceremonial as 'poor and mean and unworthy,' like the widow's offering, who yet did 'what she could'². It seems, however, that the church was decorated with flowers—not so common an adjunct of worship then as now ; and that the service was musical³. When Newman mounted the pulpit, there was a kind of awestruck silence: everybody knew that something would be said which nobody would ever forget. And the 'Parting of Friends' is perhaps the most pathetic of all the sermons of this greatest master of religious pathos: it is the last and most heartbroken expression of the intense distress which could not but be felt by a man of extraordinary sensitiveness when placed between what he believed to be a new call of duty on one side, and the affection of highminded and

¹ 'Sermons on Subjects of the Day,' 2nd ed. 1844, p. 452.

² *Ibid.* p. 442.

³ *Ibid.* p. 433.

devoted friends on the other : it is the cry which tells the world that a work of spiritual and religious restoration, to which no parallel had been witnessed in Europe for at least three centuries, was, at least to the mind of one who had hitherto had the chief hand in promoting it, a failure.

The sermon is the outpouring of the preacher's thoughts at the moment about the Church, his friends, and himself. The notes throughout are a sense of failure and disappointment and the bidding farewell. The concluding apostrophe to the Church of his birth gives pathetic utterance to the perplexity and sorrow that filled so many hearts at that most critical moment :—

'O my mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? how is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home within thine arms? Who hath put this note upon thee to have "a miscarrying womb and dry breasts," to be strange to thine own flesh, and thine eye cruel towards thy little ones? Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon with fear, as though a portent, or thou dost loathe as an offence—at best thou dost but endure, as if they had no claim but on thy patience, self-possession and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayest. Thou makest them "stand all the day idle," as the very condition of thy bearing with them; or thou biddest them be gone, where they will be more welcome; or thou sellest them for nought to the stranger that passes by. And what wilt thou do in the end thereof?'

Few who were present could restrain from tears. Pusey, who was the celebrant, was quite unable to control himself. On the evening of this sad day, he wrote to his brother William :—

E. B. P. TO REV. W. B. PUSEY.

Christ Church, Sept. 25, 1843.

I am just returned, half broken-hearted, from the commemoration at Littlemore. The sermon was like one of Newman's, in which self was altogether repressed, yet it showed the more how deeply he felt all the misconception of himself. It implied, rather than said, Farewell. People sobbed audibly, and I, who officiated at the altar, could hardly

help mingling sorrow with even that Feast. However, 'the peace of God which passeth all understanding,' closed all.

If our Bishops did but know what faithful hearts, devoted to the service of our Lord in this His Church, they are breaking! Yet, 'at eventide there will be light.'

Be not downcast at what I have written. There must be heavy night before the joyous morning; first evening, then morning. God bring us all to that morning.

The sermon at Littlemore, although the last sermon, was not the last public ministration of its author in the English Church. Once more he was to celebrate in his own church of St. Mary's; while the friends who owed everything to him gathered round the altar, with conflicting emotions of hope and fear. Some who were present in the gloom of that early October morning, felt that they were assisting at the funeral of a religious effort which had failed. Others, perhaps, were already anticipating, not very distinctly, the future which was awaiting—but still at a distance of two years—their trusted friend and teacher. Pusey was, as always, hopeful that, in some way not as yet clear, all might yet be well. The service itself, and Newman's part in it, were a warrant of his sanguineness.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Oct. 14, 1843.

I did hope to be at the H. C. to-morrow, and *when* you mentioned to me that L. would be absent, it occurred to me that as, in happier days, humanly speaking, at the beginning of the weekly Communion at St. Mary's, I assisted you, so I might, if so it be, be joined with you at the close of your office there, and we might end together. Unless then it were a comfort to some (which it might be) to receive both¹ from you, it would be such to me, to assist; only I should (as I imagine you meant) specially wish to assist only, and that you should consecrate.

Ever yours very affectionately,

E. B. P.

Newman's resignation was quickly followed by another trouble, which touched Pusey closely. During the last four years the Rev. C. Seager had been Pusey's assistant

¹ I. e. both Elements in the Holy Sacrament.

Lecturer in Hebrew. He was an accomplished Hebrew scholar; but he was not a mere philologist; he loved and read the Fathers, and he was fond of pastoral work. Without any warning, however, he joined the Church of Rome just before the beginning of the October Term. Pusey knew full well that Seager's secession would add to the difficulties of his position in Oxford. Writing to Dr. Todd, he observed:—

‘Oct. 25, 1843.

‘I would not displace him, as he taught only the grammar of Hebrew, and did not influence the young men; and I feared to unsettle him, or drive him off to Rome. So now he has left me with all the odium which could attach to me. However, I have done righteously by him.’

The news was hailed with natural exultation by Pusey's opponents, especially by such of them as achieved notoriety by controversial agitation.

REV. C. P. GOLIGHTLY TO REV. W. S. BRICKNELL.

MY DEAR BRICKNELL,

Seager has joined the Church of Rome. I send you this news to meditate upon on your way to Oxford to-morrow. . . . I have just communicated the fact to the *Record*, *Standard*, and *Morning Herald*, and, *in lieu of comment*, a copy of Pusey's last printed notice, appointing Seager to lecture for him in the Hebrew classes. . . .

Yours very sincerely,

C. P. GOLIGHTLY.

Oxford, Friday.

The effect of these events on minds of another order and more nearly related to Pusey was very emphatic. In particular, Archdeacon Manning was thoroughly alarmed by some letters from Newman which he had shown to Pusey.

ARCHDEACON MANNING TO E. B. P.

Lavington, 22nd Sunday after Trinity, 1843.

I can no longer deny that a tendency against which my whole soul turns has shown itself. It has precipitated those that are impelled by it into a position remote from that in which they stood, and from that in which I am. This has suddenly severed them (so far at least, alas!) from me. With the knowledge I communicated to you, it is an

imperative duty for me to be plainly true to myself at all cost and hazard. It would be deceit to let them think I could feel anything but sorrow and dismay—or do anything but use the poor and small strength I have to save others from passing on blindfold and unawares into the same perplexities with them. I feel to have been for four years on the brink of I know not what; all the while persuading myself and others that all was well; and more—that none were so true and steadfast to the English Church; none so safe as guides. I feel as if I had been a deceiver, speaking lies (God knows, not in hypocrisy). And this has caused a sort of shock in my mind that makes me tremble. Feel for me in my position. Day after day I have been pledging myself to clergymen and laymen all about me that all was safe and sure. I have been using his books, defending, and endeavouring to spread the system which carried this dreadful secret at its heart. There remains for me nothing but to be plain henceforward on points which hitherto I have almost resented, or ridiculed the suspicion. I did so because I knew myself to be heartily true to the English Church, both affirmatively in her positive teaching, and negatively in her rejection of the Roman system and its *differential* points. I can do this no more. I am reduced to the painful, saddening, sickening necessity of saying what I feel about Rome.

On November 5, which fell on a Sunday in 1843, the Archdeacon had 'said what he felt' about Rome. Mr. J. B. Mozley described it as a 'testification sermon against the *British Critic*.' Mozley did not like 'either the matter or the tone.' 'He (Manning) seemed really so carried away by fear of Romanism that he almost took under his patronage the Puritans and the Whigs of 1688 because they had settled the matter against the Pope.' Referring to this sermon, Keble said long after, 'I always feared what would become of Manning when I heard of his violent fifth of November sermon. Exaggerations of this kind provoke a Nemesis, and it did not surprise me so much as it grieved me to hear that he had become a Roman Catholic¹.'

After all the controversy of the summer of 1843, and the excitement produced by Newman's resignation, the Michaelmas Term was comparatively quiet. Newman, after an unsuccessful effort to retain the chapelry of Littlemore—

¹ It was when visiting Oxford on this occasion that Archdeacon Manning paid the visit to Littlemore which has been often described. Newman, who

had heard of the sermon, would not see the preacher, and desired one of the inmates of the *μονή* to tell him so very civilly.

an effort which was perhaps scarcely consistent with the grounds on which he had resigned St. Mary's—had retired into lay communion. He lived in the little 'Monastery' on the Cowley Road at Littlemore, surrounded by three or four younger friends, regularly attending the services at the village church, in which Mr. Copeland ministered, and observing the Hours in the little chapel at home. He had given fair warning to Oxford and to the world of his state of mind; but he was inevitably an object of the deepest interest to friends and opponents. Sometimes old acquaintances like Mr. Tyler, of Oriel, had an opportunity of cross-questioning him; while younger men, who had long depended on him, were anxious to ascertain, if they could, whether he was moving, and whither. Littlemore assumed in not a few minds the character of a place of pilgrimage, and the road thither was associated with meetings and conversations which gave it in many a memory a unique spiritual interest. Pusey would walk out there as often as he could, but neither as a pilgrim nor to gratify curiosity. He was intent on doing anything he could still do to retain his friend in communion with the English Church. His letters refer, once and again, to these visits, and the value he attached to them.

His own confidence in Newman was as great as ever; he could not, or rather would not, believe that he would not still remain in the Church of England. But he felt that he must be defended from misrepresentation, and cheered by the expression of the unabated affection that his friends felt for him. For instance, it was currently reported that the continued publication of Tract 90 was a breach of the obedience which Newman professed to the Bishop of Oxford. Pusey wrote to the Bishop for a contradiction of this report, asking for permission to publish his reply. The Bishop replied as follows:—

Cuddesdon, Oct. 11, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

Till I received your letter this morning, I was not aware of the serious and unfounded charge brought against Mr. Newman of

his having broken his faith with me by suffering a republication of Tract 90.

I lose no time in stating that when I requested the 'Tracts for the Times' might cease, however I might have regretted the publication of Tract 90, it formed no part of my injunction or request (for reasons well considered at the time) that there should be no republication of that tract.

People may feel themselves at liberty to express their opinions as to the policy or propriety of having published more editions of that tract, but the accusation of Mr. Newman's having done so contrary to promise, is unfounded and unjust.

No one, however, who has the slightest knowledge of Mr. Newman will give a moment's credit to such a charge of unfaithfulness in him,—and I feel sure it is unnecessary for me to state to Mr. Newman or yourself that nothing I have ever said or written can have given the remotest grounds for the accusation.

I know not, of course, from what quarter so serious a charge may come, and should, myself, deem it undeserving of notice: at the same time if you think differently, you are at liberty to make any use of this letter.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

R. OXFORD.

Again, when Newman's birthday came round, Pusey sent him an engraving, with a letter which meant much more than the ordinary affectionate greeting on such an occasion. The engraving appears to have reached its destination; the note which accompanied it was dropped in the road. It ran as follows:—

Christ Church,

Quinquagesima S. [Feb. 18], 1844.

MY DEAR NEWMAN,

If such as I might express anything in sending what is so solemn, it would be the hope that in all the sorrows and anxieties, whereby you are to be perfected, you may be bathed and refreshed by that Sudor Sanguineus, and that as each pang comes over you, through all which is so sad around us and in too many of us (at least, such as me) and in those set over us, you will commit our Church to Him, Who endured It for us.

Ever yours most gratefully and affectionately,

E. B. P.

Newman replied in terms which were evidently intended to check illusive hopes on Pusey's part.

Littlemore, Feb. 19, 1844.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

A note from you has been picked up on the road and brought to me. It relates to the present you have made me to-day, and is most kind, as all you do is.

It is, however, written under a false impression from which I can relieve you. I am in no perplexity or anxiety at present. I fear I must say that for four years and a half I have had a conviction, weaker or stronger, but on the whole constantly growing, and at present very strong, that we are not part of the Catholic Church. I am too much accustomed to this idea to feel pain at it. I could only feel pain, if I found it led me to action. At present I do not feel any such call. Such feelings are not hastily to be called convictions, though this seems to me such. Did I ever arrive at a full persuasion that it was such, then I should be very anxious and much perplexed. My case is described in the note of p. 414 of my new volume of sermons.

Alas! I fear I have removed pain from your mind in one way, only to give a greater pain in another. And yet is it possible you can be quite unprepared for this avowal? It was the Monophysite and Donatist controversies which in 1839 led me to this clear and distinct judgement.

May all good attend you and all comfort, my dear Pusey, is the prayer of yours affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Pusey's imperturbably sanguine disposition rallied again, even after this letter.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Christ Church, Vigil of St. Matthias, 1844.

MY DEAR NEWMAN,

Thank you much for all your tenderness to me. I did know what you wrote, for I was one of the two persons to whom Manning showed the letters which you gave him leave to show. They were to me what you would suppose: I wonder that I can ever laugh again; it seems unhealthy and wrong: however, as I said to Manning, I have such conviction that you are under God's guidance, that I look on cheerfully still, that all will be right,—I mean, for our poor Church and you. I did not, however, mean to allude to this, but, if such as I may say it, there has seemed to me such a sensitiveness to ills around us, as distressed me very much. I hardly knew what to say when with you, for fear of awakening some painful train of thought. I know that if we are humble we may feel anything safely, and that I am not fit myself to be keenly alive to ill in others, that all about me is blunted: still one cannot help being anxious, when one sees what seems so sharp an edge, lest it pierce its sheath.

I feared lest you desponded of our ever being better than we are, and so that we might lose the benefit of fervent prayers, which might be heard from us. I felt that you had a right to judge and feel, where I had not; still, the more I love you and the more I feel that you have a right to do what I have not, the more I shrink from what I acknowledged you might have a right to say. It was, as I said, like seeing a friend with a sharp instrument, which one could not trust one's-self with.

This does not look for any answer. Indeed, of late, I have wished to know nothing, lest my very knowing it should be hurtful. I have the same confidence in you as ever. If such as I may say so, God be with you, as He is.

Ever your very affectionate friend,

E. B. P.

Newman naturally thought that Pusey was mistaken in tracing to 'sensitiveness' on his part a view of things which he believed to be justified by facts independent of both of them.

MY DEAR P.,

Littlemore, Vigil of St. Matt[hias], 1844.

Thanks for your note, which I know it gave you pain to write. I do not doubt that there must be some fault in me which has led you to such impressions; but think you mistake in attributing my manner, &c. to sensitiveness, or sharp feeling. Suppose it has been in part a latent wish to convey to you in *detail* my view of things which I dared not say bluntly, and a sort of fidget that you did not know? And I think you do not put yourself enough into my position, and consider how a person would view things, and at the end of near five years. I suppose it is possible for a Church to have some profound wound, which, till healed, infallibly impeded the exercise of its powers and made attempts to act futile. How should we feel, e. g., if we saw a man with a broken leg attempting to walk? But if such a state be possible, what would a person's feelings be who saw it but those which we entertain towards such a disabled man? Would he be wrong in having them? However, I repeat, I have no doubt there is fault in me, which has made you so write.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. H. N.

No anxiety—and there were many—which weighed on Pusey at this time equalled that which he felt on the score of Newman. With reference to this, Keble had written to him:—

'Jan. 23, 1844.

'I think night and day of your anxieties: would that I could really help you. I myself for some time have hardly dared to expect

any other [event] than you now fear : but I am fearfully cold, I fear, about it. Yet when one does a little realize it, it seems a depth of disappointment beyond imagination. But surely there are those to whom there will be light in the darkness.'

A few weeks after this correspondence with Newman, Pusey was called away from Oxford to what proved to be the deathbed of his eldest daughter, Lucy.

Since Mrs. Pusey's death, Pusey's three children had lived little with their father in Oxford. Philip had been at school in Brighton: Lucy and Mary under the care of Miss Rogers at Clifton. Pusey always saw them in the holidays, and in the Long Vacations took them with him to the seaside. Mary's health was good; but in different ways Philip and Lucy were constant sources of anxiety. At the end of 1843, Philip was so ill that Mrs. Bartlett, at whose school he was, wrote to request Dr. Pusey to remove him; 'as the presence of one so sickly prevented parents from placing their children with her.' Lucy had, all through these years, alternated between convalescence and the return of illness; and at last, in the early spring of 1844, her chronic ill-health was aggravated by an attack of whooping-cough which ended in disease of the lungs.

At this time his daughter Lucy was more to Pusey than his other children, more, perhaps, than any other person in the world. As his eldest child she naturally and largely took a high place in his domestic affections; but she was also from her tenderest years in intimate sympathy with his religious hopes and efforts, so far as this was possible for one so young. Very early in life she listened to and read Newman's sermons with spiritual enjoyment; and it had been a special feature of Mrs. Pusey's training that she should make the most of Newman's teaching. At Pusey's request Bishop Bagot had confirmed her when twelve years old; and this was followed on the next day, Trinity Sunday, 1841, by her first communion,—an occasion of the greatest joy to her father.

'Every wish of my heart,' wrote Pusey to the Rev. B. Harrison, on June 8, 1841, 'was fulfilled in dear Lucy's deep silent devotion, and

awe and thankfulness on Saturday and especially on Sunday. Every anxiety was removed, and her dear mother's unwearied pains richly blest.'

It was shortly after this that she formed a purpose of devoting herself in a single life to the care of the sick and poor for Christ's sake. For several years Pusey himself had earnestly prayed for the restoration of the religious life, and especially of sisterhoods, to the English Church. It was therefore natural that Pusey's interests should be especially concentrated in a child who represented to him her mother, and the fruit of Newman's teaching, and one of his own most earnest hopes of religious restoration for the English Church.

'She was the one being,' he wrote to Newman on April 22, 1844, 'around whom my thoughts of the future here had wound.'

'I cannot tell you,' he wrote to his son, April 23, 'how her simplicity and devotion and love wound round my heart, and how I loved her, or how I longed that she should be, and join with others in being, what she longed to be.'

Pusey does not appear to have anticipated the blow which was soon to fall on him.

'Dear Lucy,' he wrote to Newman on April 2, 'is still suffering from the whooping-cough, though her chest, which was tried the other day, is still sound. Still, the very trying it implies apprehension whether there was mischief.'

But on April 3rd he went to Clifton, and found at once that humanly speaking her recovery was hopeless.

Sorrow was to bring him and Newman very closely together again; how intimately and spiritually the sub-joined letters will show.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Clifton, Easter Tuesday [April 9], 1844.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

All is peace here, with the certain prospect how it will end, though not how soon. It was hurrying on with a terrific rapidity when I wrote, though I knew it not; on Easter Eve came a solemn pause; and in this I suppose we are still. She said to me last night, 'Now I am so near death, it seems that my love of God is not what it

should be'; so we are now praying for it, and this pause seems to be given us, to obtain some deeper measure of it before she parts. She is a child of your writings: in looking over her books, I find the date of a volume of your sermons, on her birthday, nearly eight years ago, and I asked you for them, as her dear mother had been some time forming her mind in them. The term is quite uncertain; there is prospect of her remaining more than a month, perhaps, with me: but it might at any time be cut short to two days, so we are even evidently wholly in His Hands. I wished to tell you how we are and what we long for. I suppose St. François de Sales is the best *book*; Dalgairns will like to know that the translation which he has corrected so nicely is of great use and comfort.

I should stay on here, unless there were appearances that she would be continued here through the term, and then I thought of coming up to give my four lectures on two following days, spending the rest of the week here.

You will be kindly glad to hear that as yet she does not suffer, and her beautifully calm face is something joyous to look on.

I asked her whether she had any message for you. She said, 'Give him my respectful love, and thank him for all his kindness to me.'

God reward you, my dear friend; this is now the second of mine, at whose parting I have felt what a blessing your sermons and your love have been to them.

Ever your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

Littlemore, April 10, 1844.

You may fancy what an heartache your note of to-day has given me. Yet all is well, as you know better than I can say. What would you more than is granted you as regards dear Lucy? She was given you to be made an heir of heaven. Have you not been allowed to perform that part towards her? You have done your work—what remains but to present it finished to Him Who put it upon you? You are presenting it to Him, you are allowed to do so, in the way most acceptable to Him, as a holy blameless sacrifice, not a sacrifice which the world has sullied, but as if a baptismal offering, perfected by long though kind and gentle sufferings. How fitly do her so touching words which you repeat to me accord with such thoughts as these! 'Love' which she asks for, is of course the grace which will complete the whole. Do you not bear in mind the opinion of theologians that it is the grace which supplies all things, supersedes all things, and is all in all? I believe they hold, though a dying person were in a desert, without any one at hand, love would be to him everything. He has in it forgiveness of sins, Communion of Saints, and the presence of Christ. Dear Lucy has been made His in Baptism, she has been made His in suffering: and now she asks to be made His by love.

Well may you find her sweet countenance pleasant to look upon, when here at a distance I have such pleasure in thinking of her. May we have that great blessedness, when our end comes (may I especially, who need so to pray more than others), which is hers, that gift of love which casts out all imperfection, all doubt, all sorrow.

Should you have a fit time for doing so, pray tell her that she is constantly in my thoughts, and will not (so be it) cease to be;—as she, who has gone first, is in my mind day by day, morning and evening, continually.

All blessing on you both, and on your other dear charge at Clifton, is the prayer of yours, my dear Pusey,

Most affectionately but most unworthily,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Early in the morning of April 22nd she passed away.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Clifton, Fer. ii. inf. Hebd. ii. post Pasch.

[April 22], 1844.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

‘Blessed be the Name of the Lord.’ Your prayers and those of my other friends have been heard; the child, educated in, and (in a manner) of your sermons, has been accepted, and is in Paradise. The struggle was so long and so severe that I could not but think it a realizing, in a degree, of a wish she had named to me (about two years ago, I think) that she might die a martyr. . . . I longed that it should be over, and sighed at each return of life, or each sign of remaining strength, though I was withheld from praying that it should be except as He willed. I left it wholly to His wisdom and mercy. . . .

I ventured to give her in charge to pray for us all in the presence of her Redeemer, and, if it might be, for those institutions to which she had herself hoped to belong. I especially recalled to her how much she owed to you. . . . The crowning blessing was at the end. She had seemed again and again all but gone, and when I expected the last sigh, the cough returned and seemed to recall her to life, and the suffering was to begin again. . . . All at once her eyes opened wide, and I never saw such a gaze as at what was invisible to us, which continued for some time; and after this had continued for some little while, she looked at me full in the face, and there came such an unearthly smile, so full of love also; all expression of pain disappeared and was swallowed up in joy: I never saw anything like that smile: there was no sound, else it seemed almost a laugh for joy, and I could hardly help laughing for joy in answer. I cannot describe it: it was utterly unlike anything I ever saw: it seemed as if she would say, ‘All you have longed for for me is fulfilled,’ and when her blessed spirit was gone, her eyes, which were looking gently heavenwards, retained such a lustre (such as they never had before) that they seemed more than living.

It turned at once all sorrow into joy: it seemed like one already in Paradise inviting me thither. . . . A few days ago this seemed to me the heaviest blow that could fall upon me: she was the one being around whom my thoughts of the future here had wound; and now I would not exchange that smile for worlds. 'Heaviness has endured for the night, but joy has come in the morning.' I cannot sorrow for one whom I have seen with the light as of Heaven. . . .

Pusey interpreted the smile which is here described more distinctly and confidently in another passage.

'I feel certain that it was our Blessed Lord Whom she saw: I had often in the night used part of the prayer, "Soul of Christ," &c., more than once as a whole, and especially that part, "O good Jesus, hear me, and suffer me not to be separated from Thee." . . . I repeated to her the Blessing, "May the Face of the Lord Jesus Christ appear to thee mild and joyous." . . . The lustre of her eyes and the heavenly love of the smile, seemed a reflection of His Countenance. If so while in the body, what must it be now! God be thanked for His unspeakable mercy to me a sinner.'

Pusey asked Newman to make arrangements about the funeral. She was to be buried in the Cathedral at Christ Church.

'Do you think'—wrote Pusey to Newman on April 22—'there would be any harm in putting on the stone "puella jam in votis Christo desponsata," since this had been a deep and abiding feeling with her since I first named it almost four years ago. I mean the Latin to express that it was only *in votis*, not actually so.'

The coffin was to be 'as simple as herself,' with the 'cross upon it which she so loved.' The cross could not be added in Clifton. 'My friends here,' wrote Pusey, 'are already too deeply committed by their connexion with myself¹.' Dr. Bloxam was asked to give directions to some one about making a cross, which could be put on at Oxford. In transmitting this commission to Bloxam, Newman added, 'In reward you shall see Pusey's letter to me about her; she was a saint.'

Newman's acknowledgment of Pusey's account of his daughter's death followed at once.

¹ The Miss Rogers' school had suffered through their relations with Pusey.

MY DEAREST PUSEY,

Littlemore, April 24, 1844.

How can I thank you enough for your letter and its sacred contents? rather how can we all duly thank Him Whose mercies have enabled you to write it? You do not want comfort—so on all accounts but few words are becoming from such as me. I now but fear that you will find yourself overcome in body and mind afterwards, when the present exertion is over.

I have ordered a plated cross eighteen inches long, and foliated (I think they call it), by Bloxam.

There seems to me nothing against the words—*in votis*. I suppose it is good Latin. The question is whether it will not be commonly *mistaken* by *voto devincta*. I like it very much.

The twenty-second of April is memorable to me already on many accounts—two are these. It is the anniversary of Wood's departure last year, and of our commencing here the year before.

Ever yours most affectionately,

J. H. N.

P.S. On second thoughts, since you expressly say 'the simple cross,' I shall order a plain one not foliated.

Pusey begged Newman to be at the funeral, which took place on Saturday, April 27. Lucy Pusey was laid at the side of her mother and sister in the nave (as it then was) of Christ Church Cathedral.

Pusey sought refuge from his anxieties and sorrows in an increase of his habits of personal devotion, and in efforts to lead others to deeper and more spiritual communion with God. He now engaged in editing a translation of the first of a series of devotional works, adapted from foreign writers to the use of the English Church. In this he was only following high precedent. Bishop Andrewes had constructed his 'Devotions' out of ancient liturgies. Sherlock had taught the 'Practical Christian' that the Breviary and the Missal contained prayers of exquisite beauty. The 'Spiritual Combat' had been edited for the use of the English Church by a London clergyman in the seventeenth century, and recommended in the eighteenth by Bishop Wilson. The 'Introduction to a Devout Life,' by St. Francis de Sales, had been brought to the notice of English Churchmen under the auspices of Laud; and Laud had sanctioned by licence the 'Epistle of Christ to a Devout Soul,' by

Lanspergius. Of Luis of Granada, the 'Spiritual Exercises' had been translated in one century, the 'Paradise of Prayers' in another. Jeremy Taylor had embodied Nieremberg in his 'Contemplations of the State of Man'; Hickes had translated Fénelon; Robert Boyle, Nicole; Ball, of St. Bartholomew's the Less, Bellarmine's 'Art of Dying'; while Wesley had published, in his 'Christian Library,' works of Juan d'Avila, Molinos, Francis Losa, Fénelon, and the 'Letters' of Brother Lawrence. Thomas à Kempis had been at home in the English Church since the days of Queen Elizabeth¹. The original works of Massillon and Fénelon had long been welcome to English Church-people. Pusey only proposed to extend the use of foreign writers; but to extend it under safeguards and upon a principle. Believing as he did that the whole spiritual life of the Church was the work of God the Holy Ghost, even when mingled here and there with human exaggerations or misconceptions, he held that the devotional literature, in which this life found expression and guidance, was God's gift to all branches and members of the Church, and not only to that portion of her which immediately produced it. And there were special reasons just now for drawing on some of these sources of spiritual strength.

'In the present time there is a craving after a higher life; stricter and more abiding penitence; deeper and fuller devotion; mental prayer; meditation upon God and His holy mysteries; more inward love to Him; oneness of will with Him in all things; more habitual recollection in Him amid the duties of daily life; entire consecration to God; deadness to self and to the world; growth in the several Christian graces in detail; self-knowledge, in order to victory over self; daily strife; stricter conformity with our Lord's blessed commandments and all-holy life, sympathy with His passion, 'the fellowship of His sufferings'; oneness with Him. Yet in all, people feel that they lack instruction; they see dimly what God would have of them,—they see not how to set about it².'

Pusey began with Avrillon's 'Guide for passing Lent Holyly,' one of the most useful of the series. He prefixed

¹ Cf. Pusey's 'Letter to the Bishop of London,' 1851, pp. 83-93.

² Avrillon's 'Guide for passing Lent Holyly.' Preface, pp. 1, 2.

to it some remarks vindicating the principle and pointing out the limits of his adaptations. He proposed at first to prefix a dedication to the Church of England, and consulted Newman about it as well as about the translation of the Breviary. Newman replied:—

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR P.

Oriel, Saturday, Dec. 2, 1843.

Your proposed Dedication has put it into my head to say to you what it did not strike me before to do—though I certainly think I ought.

It is this. I am quite of opinion that any Breviary, however corrected, &c., will tend to prepare minds for the Church of Rome. I fully think that you will be doing so by your publication. . . .

I do not think our system will bear it. It is like sewing a new piece of cloth on an old garment.

Did I wish to promote the cause of the Church of Rome, I should say, Do what you propose to do.

I have before now been of another opinion. If it seems wonderful to you that I should change right round without showing distress at the intentions expressed from time to time of editing Breviaries, I fear I must account for it in a way which will pain you—that my dislike of approximating Rome has diminished with my hope of avoiding her. Now, as before, I am not unwilling that Breviaries should be published—though for different reasons. But, as I have tried, while I had a charge in our Church, to do nothing against her, so now you should have my opinion on the subject.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. H. N.

Of course, Newman's letter did not convince Pusey. Newman meant that Rome was alone the true home of all that Pusey wished to secure for the English Church by his adapted books. Pusey, believing that the English Church was Catholic, believed that she had a right to and could assimilate all that was really Catholic in the devotional literature of the Church of Rome. It would raise the tone of the whole English Church; it would not make individuals disloyal to her. It would influence the devotional life of the English Church, as the publication of the 'Library of the Fathers' was influencing her theology. Newman, of course, could not agree.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

Littlemore, Dec. 18, 1843.

I have been intending to answer your most kind and affectionate note ever since it came, and now I am driven up into a corner for time.

I must seem very cold and reserved to you—the truth is I have not had courage to tell you all I think. This has lasted a very long time—for years. Indeed, one has no right to scatter about one's own notions, when they are recent, lest they should be but accidental and random. But some time or other I must tell you. And perhaps I must choose some serious season, as I do for telling you as much as this.

Whether the publication of a Breviary is to lead our Church towards Rome or individuals in it (which is your question) can only be decided by experiment. It is like attempting to bend a stick: if it does not bend, it will break. If you do not move the whole Church, to a certainty you are moving individuals; there is no medium. Now in calculating the prospective resistance, the fact that the Bishops are averse to the Breviary, and that some have pledged themselves against it, is a very anxious fact. Again, you must take into account generally, the opposition of the nation to Rome. I do not think it enough, according to *my* feeling of the matter, to say, 'I leave it to a higher power whether or not He leads our Church to Rome, in consequence of my act'; I think you must contemplate another alternative and say, 'I think it right, and therefore leave it to Him altogether and absolutely what becomes of my act, whether He overrule it to the movement of the whole Church or of individuals in it, more or fewer.' I am only stating *my* feeling.

Things have so silently changed (e.g. the fact of the Bishops' Charges, the secret growth of Roman tendencies in various minds, &c.) that I had not very fully mastered my own thoughts about the publication of a Breviary now, till your proposed Dedication made me realize them.

As to Isaac W[illiams] you must not take him as a judge of *consequences*—he advocates causes as strongly as possible till they touch on their effects, and then is perfectly shocked and amazed to find that fire burns.

As to the Fathers, to return to your remark, I *do* now think, far more than I did, that their study leads to Rome. It has thus wrought in me. But of course I *ever* have thought it required a safeguard to keep it from Rome, because in the history of the Church their theology *has* led to Rome on a very large scale; *vide* the advertisement to my third volume of Sermons.

You are not paining me by writing to me, and I grieve not to answer you, but I am sorely perplexed whether I have any right to distress you, and that is the beginning and the end of it.

And now, my dearest Pusey, do not think that I doubt for a moment that, whatever you do, done as you will do it, will turn to good: only you seemed to pledge yourself to be *choosing* the good, and to involve yourself in consequences—and that frightened me.

Ever yours most affectionately, compared with whom

I am nothing,

J. H. N.

Keble, unlike Newman, approved of this renewed proposal to translate the Breviary, and of Pusey's Preface to the adapted works. He wrote a long letter, pointing out omissions which would be necessary to make the Breviary conformable to English Church doctrine, while insisting on the principle that nothing that was retained should be altered. In a second letter he added:—

'Have you ever thought of what the Bishops, some of them, I think the Bishop of Oxford, said against editing R. C. books of devotion, as an objection to this undertaking? Might it be removed by communication with him or in any other way? Will not some bookseller share the expense, if he may be allowed to share the profit? If this is thought undesirable, I hope you will put me down for at least £100 towards it. I hope N. and you sometimes confer about it: how is he?'

Newman's letters had however raised serious scruples in Pusey's mind as to the consistency of his project with loyalty to the English Church: and as Keble had not met these scruples, Pusey wrote to him again on the subject. Keble, who seems to have thought that there was more reserve and distance between Newman and Pusey at this time than was really the case, begged him to consult Newman. He added:—

REV. J. KEBLE TO E. B. P.

Hursley, Jan. 9, 1844.

With regard to the risk of publishing an English Breviary at all, even in the most expurgated shape, I own I cannot well comprehend it: that is, I cannot comprehend how it should have a Romeward tendency with good sort of persons: but to say that our Church cannot bear such a book, and that it is inconsistent with loyalty to her, this, it seems to me, *would* be a very scandalizing sort of thing. As to the Services of St. Mary in particular, I can better comprehend your difficulty: even as an *οἰκονομία*, to reconcile

people to the Breviary generally, it seems that it might be desirable to omit *them*; but why should this extend to *all* the black-letter-days? unless it be that you would not like to exclude (so far) the greatest Saint whilst you are honouring the rest? and I do not know that I could answer this very well. Yet it does seem to me that leaving out such a body of holy commemorations will *enormously* diminish the beauty and utility of the book. But still I would have it go on, and as you say, if the plan be a truly good one, more Saints' days may perhaps be added hereafter. Any hymns or other passages which you wish, I will of course try to translate; but they must be sent to me in good time, as I am very slow in such works, and getting more and more so.

Avrillon appeared just before Lent. The effect of Pusey's correspondence with Newman appears in the following Dedication. It had been slightly altered since Newman saw it. It is hardly possible to avoid contrasting the tone of this Dedication with that of the passage already quoted from Newman's last sermon, especially as regards the relation of the writers to their Mother, the Church of England.

'To

Our Mother

In whom we were new born to God,
In whom we have been fed
All our life long until this day,
In whose Bosom we hope to die,
The Church of England,
Beloved and afflicted,
And by affliction purified,
Once the Parent of Saints,
Now through our sins fallen, yet arising,
In
Reverent and grateful affection,
from
Her humblest and most unworthy Son,
With the earnest prayer
That his infirmities and shortsightedness
Mar not any way God's gracious work towards her,
Nor what is purposed
For the holiness of her children
Bring aught of evil to her.'

The publication of Avrillon provoked misgivings and even remonstrances from some of Pusey's friends.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

Oct. 4, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

. . . With regard to my own R. C. books, I am editing them because I do not know of others of equal value or of the same kind. How should it not be that in so numerous Churches as those in communion with Rome, with such very devoted and self-denying and contemplative lives as so many have led, they should not have much by which we can profit?

Of course I cannot expect to approve my own judgement to others in all things, but on the subject of the system as to the Blessed Virgin, you have no reason to fear from me, for I cannot see my way one step into the practical system of devotion to her. But surely we must, in these difficult times, make all allowance for all people, even as we wish to be well-constructed ourselves.

It has only lately occurred to me, that I shall probably be suspended again next year, if I live so long, i. e. upon my first sermon.

Do not be impatient, my dear friend, but pray for us.

Yours very affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

The Rev. W. K. Hamilton (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury) feared that such books might make English Church-people dissatisfied with their own position.

E. B. P. TO REV. W. K. HAMILTON.

St. Thomas' Day, 1844.

MY DEAR HAMILTON,

I am grieved that you think my editions of foreign works (for Roman Catholic they are not, as I edit them) tend to foster an unfilial spirit. My own object was two-sided: (1) to obtain what was very valuable; (2) to present it in such form as should not lead to devotions, &c., uncongenial to our Church. People were using Roman Catholic books extensively already, and this was unanglicanizing them. There was not the choice, if one would, whether they should use them or no. The only question was, how? Again, people were restless, because they had not guidance; they had cravings unsupplied (as I said in my first Preface). These books do set them at rest. I receive most grateful thanks for the provision made within our Church, for knowing what they may use, instead of being tempted to use Roman Catholic books, as stolen goods, of which they knew not whether they were theirs or no. Simple, truly Anglican minds have thanked me exceedingly. Then, why should it unsettle people? Why should we suppose that we have all good in ourselves? Why should not such flourishing Churches as Spain and France have been, with men so wholly abstracted from this life and living to God, lives so devoted as we have scarcely

any notion of, with burning zeal for the conversion of sinners, all on fire with the love of God, produce works which might be of use to us? . . . Yet we have been contented to borrow from Calvinists, Lutherans, our own Dissenters.

The task which, from the feeling of its necessity, I have taken upon myself, I feel to be a difficult and an anxious one. But I know that it has brought both to translators and readers deeper thoughts of devotion, and so I hope God's blessing will rest upon it. I felt when I began it that I was throwing away what little reputation I had left: but I felt it to be worth the cost. You would be shocked to have all this explanation. But what you feel, that, of course, others do also, and your Bishop probably, and I should be glad to mitigate, at least, his apprehensions. . . . God be with you ever.

Yours affectionately,

E. B. P.

Copeland's difficulty had been of a distinct character. If it was desirable to have recourse to the Roman Church for books of devotion, did not this imply a greater wealth of spiritual life in that Church, and was not such a fact, if a fact it was, suggestive of other conclusions beyond?

E. B. P. TO REV. W. J. COPELAND.

Sept. 24, 1844.

You must not indeed let my doing R. C. books raise painful doubts or comparisons in your mind. So large a Communion must have produced more than ours. Then so much of theirs is the fruit of Monastic Orders (all their best books I think) that it is wonderful that God should have given us what He has without them. Then on the very subject we were speaking of, how much is there not in Bishop Wilson's S. P. for meditation at least! I do not know yet, but I doubt very much whether the German Catholic Church has produced as much as God has bestowed on us. Spain again has one very bright galaxy about the time of St. Theresa, but all which she has seems to centre about that time. We are wishing to make our own the best (if we have wisdom to find it) which God has given elsewhere anywhere in the Church: how should it not be more than we have? And yet if God gives us grace to use it, it becomes our own, and so far sets us in communion with the Church everywhere.

I write this, on account of an expression of pain which escaped you on Sunday.

The projected translation of the Breviary had not originated with Pusey. Several hands had been engaged upon

it, ever since the appearance of Newman's tract (No. 75) 'On the Roman Breviary as embodying the substance of the devotional services of the Church Catholic.' Prominent among these translators was Mr. Samuel Wood¹ of Oriel College—a layman of saintly life, whose early death was deeply mourned by Pusey and Newman. His manuscripts passed by his will into the hands of Mr. Robert Williams; and Mr. F. Oakeley was also actively interested in the work. Pusey was asked for advice and assistance when Newman, through misgivings as to the English Church, was no longer willing to give them. He endeavoured to employ the partial control thus placed in his hands by discouraging whatever appeared to be inconsistent with the teaching of the English Church; and, feeling that he could thus hope to give the enterprise a healthy turn and to satisfy a widely-felt spiritual craving without encouraging disaffection to the English Church, he did what he could to urge his friends to complete it.

E. B. P. TO REV. W. J. COPELAND.

Ilfracombe, July 5, 1844.

You will be glad to hear that R. W. will make any use of our friend Wood's MSS. of the Breviary we wish, trusting to us that we must know what is wanted for our Church more than he. So then, as soon as the Hymns on the Passion are done, I hope you will set to work about this, and first of all see if you think there is anything, here and there, in N.'s hymns which he would like to retract, and then we could begin printing at once. I am anxious not to lose time. . . .

Yours very affectionately,

E. B. P.

But the troubles of the next two years were fatal to this as to other pieces of work which Pusey had at heart. Fragments of the translation of the Breviary, in brown-paper wrappers, appeared in the Oxford shops, and were used in the private chapel of Newman's monastery at Littlemore. But the work was never completed: although the idea has shown a persistent vitality and has been partly

¹ He was an uncle of the present Viscount Halifax.

realized in the 'Day Hours of the Church,' based on the ancient English use of Sarum, and other less important or popular compilations which have in later years shaped the devotional life of a not inconsiderable number of English Churchmen¹.

¹ Since Dr. Liddon wrote these words the edition of the Sarum Breviary, published by the Cambridge

University Press, has made the ancient devotions of the English Church easily accessible (see p. 146).

CHAPTER XXXI.

VISIT TO ILFRACOMBE—PREACHING WITH THE BISHOP
OF EXETER'S SANCTION—NEWMAN'S POSITION—
PUSEY'S FEARS AND HOPES—DEATH OF MR. J. W.
BOWDEN.

1844.

DURING the Easter Term which followed his daughter's death, Pusey worked as hard as ever. Besides his lectures, he edited and wrote prefaces to two volumes of the 'Library of the Fathers¹.' When the Term had ended he went to Ilfracombe with his two surviving children.

During a short preceding visit to town he saw Mr. J. W. Bowden at Roehampton. Mr. Bowden's contributions to the 'Lyra Apostolica' and his 'Life of Gregory VII.' had made him, although a layman, a leading mind among the Oxford writers. He had lately lost his father, and was now in very ill health, and found great comfort in the visits both of Pusey and Newman. How completely Pusey was forgetting his own troubles in those of others and in his work, appears from a letter to Newman, which he wrote from Clifton, on the eve of taking the Bristol Channel steamer to Ilfracombe.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Clifton, July 2, 1844.

I should have written, after my visit to Bowden, had not Johnson been returning to you. He spoke as if he thought well of himself, and said his physician spoke of his returning to St. Leonards in much the same state as last year. I, for the first time, became heavy-minded. God bless you in this and all your sorrows.

My, or your, little books promise to go on faster now. That on the Spiritual Life, by Surin, is half through the press, and with it I hope

¹ St. Cyprian's Epistles, and St. Augustine's Homilies on the New Testament, vol. i.

to bring out 'The Hidden Life'; what you have now sent me completes the fourth; and by the end of the Vacation I hope to have the Paradisus.

While I was in London, I heard of a most dreadful instance of what you allude to in a sermon, God's awful avenging of the profanation of the Holy Eucharist. It was received, with warning of the danger of receiving unworthily; not swallowed, the head being turned aside to conceal this from the clergyman: and the poor wretched being, who was before so weak that the medical man did not suppose that she could live through the day, became endued with such supernatural strength that she could scarcely be held down: the medical man seemed frightened when he saw her again, and said he could do no more for her. The nurse said he seemed glad to get away. She herself speaks with awful vehemence of her soul being lost. This is the second instance I know, myself, of actual 'possession' as the result of profanation, or hypocritical receiving. It is dreadful to speak of it in this way: yet God seems to be showing us openly, what at other times passes secretly, as a witness to His Sacraments.

Poor Philip is thought to be decidedly better, and is looking forward earnestly to his Confirmation this month. We are to set off early to-morrow for Ilfracombe: twice before I have sailed from Bristol: the first time with all to brighten life; each time since what was dearest was removed from sight. All seems set or setting: if His Light but arise!

Ever yours affectionately and gratefully,

E. B. P.

I do not mean to write heavily on the anniversary of the day when poor Philip's life and mine were so wonderfully preserved; I hope, for something.

Pusey was, of course, still a marked man; the majority of Englishmen regarded him as a dangerous character, who had been rightly condemned by the most learned University of the country. Mr. Chanter, the Vicar of Ilfracombe, was anxious that Pusey should preach in his church; but popular excitement against him ran as high in Devonshire as elsewhere. It was supposed that a University suspension held everywhere; and Mr. Chanter's invitation was considered an act of lawless audacity. Pusey himself, though without any illusions as to the range or character of academical jurisdiction, still felt that there were in the circumstances sound moral reasons for obtaining the distinct sanction of the Bishop of the Diocese before accepting the invitation. A little more than three weeks after Pusey's arrival at

Ilfracombe, Bishop Philpotts came to hold a Confirmation in the parish, and Philip Pusey was confirmed. Pusey wrote:—

‘Ilfracombe, Vigil of St. James, 1844.

‘My poor boy was confirmed to-day, and the Bishop of Exeter kindly made it (unasked) the more impressive to him, by confirming him singly, continuing the imposition of hands all the time, and speaking louder that he might hear.’

After the service, Mr. Chanter asked the Bishop to sanction Pusey’s preaching.

‘The Bishop,’ writes Pusey to Newman on July 24, ‘said that he thought it would not have been wise in Mr. Chanter to have asked me without consulting himself, that it did not fall in his (the Bishop’s) way to ask me to preach, for that no occasion offered for it; but he had no objection to any of his clergy asking me. On parting, Mr. C. again asked the Bishop whether he distinctly understood that the Bishop had no objection whatever to his asking me to preach. To which the Bishop said without any hesitation, “Certainly none.”

‘I saw the Bishop privately: he was very courteous to me, as he always is; said he was glad to see me at all times, especially in his Diocese, asked to see me if I should go to S. Devon, praised my meekness (while I felt it half hypocrisy, since I am preparing to appeal against the Vice-Chancellor); said that he saw nothing to censure in my sermon, that I had been hardly dealt with, though he thought that he differed in expression, but expression only, from myself, expressed value for my opinion on other matters, &c., &c., &c.: but said nothing about my preaching, which I did not think had been named to him.’

Pusey asked Newman whether he thought it advisable for him to preach with this sanction. Newman replied:—

‘July 28, 1844.

‘I really think you may do as you like; it certainly would seem acknowledging the œcumenical authority of the Six Doctors if you did not preach at Ilfracombe now, and did (say) next year. Certainly the Bishops *ought* to take you up. But it is in vain to expect what is orthodox and Catholic from them. Do men gather figs of thistles?’

On August 11th Pusey preached in the parish church of the Holy Trinity, Ilfracombe, in aid of the funds for a new church at the foot of the Capstone Hill. The subject, ‘God is Love,’ was especially congenial to the preacher;

and its application to the circumstances of Ilfracombe is enforced with characteristic fervour.

A fortnight later he preached a second sermon for the parochial schools, on the glory conferred by our Lord's Incarnation on Christian childhood¹. On this, as on the former occasion, the church was crowded, and a great many Dissenters formed part of the congregation. They were surprised at Pusey's evangelical tone,—in the true sense of that expression,—at the sincerity and fervour with which he enforced those truths of Revelation which they too sincerely held. They joined in a request that his sermons might be printed. Pusey wrote to the Bishop of Exeter to ask whether the sermons, preached with his sanction, might be dedicated to him.

THE BISHOP OF EXETER TO E. B. P.

Himley Park, Aug. 29, 1844.

Your letter has given to me very great gratification, but no surprise—except perhaps that I was not prepared to find Dissenters (of a class, probably, much opposed to you before) candid enough to do you justice.

I shall esteem myself *honoured* by your dedication. It may be well to say, as the fact is, that I know not the contents of the sermons so dedicated: but that I most willingly accept your proposal, as a testimony of my confidence in you, when I sanctioned your preaching, that you would not preach anything in the diocese of Exeter which its Bishop would not be glad to hear, or which would give reasonable ground of offence to any sober-minded and faithful Christian.

I am, in haste, very faithfully yours,

Rev. Dr. Pusey.

H. EXETER.

The Bishop's acknowledgment of the copy sent to him was very cordial:—

MY DEAR SIR,

Bishopstowe, Torquay, Oct. 29, 1844.

I have been shamefully remiss in so long delaying my thanks to you for your two admirable sermons. I feel their value more than I can express, and am sensible of the honour which is conferred on my name by having it associated with them.

Believe me, my dear Sir, with very sincere regard and esteem,

Yours most faithfully,

H. EXETER.

¹ The text is St. Matt. xviii. 5, child in My Name receiveth Me.'
'Whoso shall receive one such little 'Occasional Sermons,' serm. v.

Pusey spent his forty-fifth birthday at Ilfracombe; and Newman, as usual, wrote to him, in anticipation of the day, but in terms which were very far indeed from being conventional.

THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, August 18, 1844.

I write you a line anticipatory of next Thursday, and will take the opportunity of the day, not only to make the customary good wishes, but to try to remind you of the good which exists, not in wish or hope, but in accomplishment all around you. What I mean is, that I happened to travel down from London with E. Coleridge the other day, and he told me he feared you were in a state of dejection, and really this ought not to be. It has made me very anxious. Will you, please, think of this—that, whatever be the event of things (of which we know nothing, and whether good or bad we may know nothing) yet nothing can hinder the *fact* that it has pleased God to work, and to be working, through you more good than can be told. Is it not a good that souls should be made more serious? that they should be turned towards themselves and towards repentance? that they should spend their substance, not on themselves, but in the service of religion? that they should have truer views of the soul? more reverence, more faith, more love? Now, has not Divine Mercy made you the means of all this in a way far beyond your own highest expectations? If so, is not this a fact realized, against which nothing can be put? Is it not a hundred times more certain that these things are good than that joining the Church of Rome is evil? Is it not then wrong to be downhearted?

Again, are not such tempers and habits as He has made you His instrument in creating in the souls of so many, a token and warrant that good must come in the end? May you not safely leave the issue to Him Who has promised it will be a blessed one, for the beginning is blessed? Good beginnings lead to good endings. You need not balance, though I just now said it, the certain good that is, against the probable evil that is to come, but let the certain good be a comment and more true interpreter of what seems to you evil. Divine Goodness allows you to see fruit, and in that you surely may rejoice, as St. Paul says—and leave Him to do what He will with His own work. It *is* His work, not yours—have faith in the work—and believe that He will perfect and complete it in a way suitable to His original design. Surely Gamaliel's advice applies—let us follow it, not the pattern of such as Jonah, who would have things his own way.

Excuse this abruptness, my dear Pusey; take it in love from

Yours most affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Pusey replied :—

[Ilfracombe, Aug. 21.] St. Bernard's Day, 1844.

Thank you for all the tender affection of your note, which makes you ascribe to me things which do not belong to me. I hope I shall profit by it somehow, as by all your love.

I do not know whether C[oleridge] has understood me, but perhaps I have seemed to wish to have matters more my own way, than I do. The tendency Romewards, when I was first told it, did shatter me, and I felt like one who had been left ashore, and the tide sweeping by, I knew not whither; but this has for some time past away. I have been unanxious, whither things developed, whether in what I can see or what I cannot see: I believe implicitly all which the Church believes, hold myself opposed to nothing which I do not see, and think that any one may see further and truer than I do; although I must act on what I see myself.

But what does seem impressed upon me with a conviction deeper than I can say, is that God is with our Church, acting not¹ upon individuals, but dealing with it, if we do not forfeit it. It is this dread, which has made me write strongly to C[oleridge] and some few friends besides. Things seem ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς. It is not that I mistrust God's goodness, but man's, our own, prayerlessness. I hear of continual prayer among the Roman Catholics; there may be such among ourselves; but there is much want of love and disunited prayer; I do trust much prayer in secret (which one hears of from time to time), yet many who wish us gone from misunderstandings, &c. If then there be this prayer on the one side, and we ourselves neither know our blessings, nor what to pray for, or pray languidly, what may we not lose? My feeling is, that it may be with us, 'Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved.' And so, while I have misgivings whether people are careless about it, it cannot but be a heavy matter. Jeremiah was allowed to weep for his people, and Ezekiel to sit astonished seven days, and St. Paul to have great heaviness of heart for his kinsmen according to the flesh; and so, now that the work which God seemed to have in store for our Church seems threatened, I, a sinner, may have sorrow for what my own sins may, to an extent I know not of, have caused. However, I ought truly to say, I ought to have more sorrow. I am obliged to eat and drink and sleep, when saints would have been enabled to fast and pray and have turned away God's displeasure from their land. However, I have prayed solemnly and do pray that God, if it be His will, would allow any remaining sorrow which can come to me, without injury to the Church or to souls, to be, rather than this; and so I wait the end.

May He bless you for all your love.

Ever your most affectionate and grateful friend,

E. B. P.

¹ It seems that 'only' must have been accidentally omitted.

Newman could not, in his then state of mind, allow such a letter as this to close the subject. He wrote the following reply :—

Littlemore, Aug. 23, 1844.

. . . What you say pains me very much. Surely what St. Paul and the prophets before him mourned so bitterly, was not the downfall of a system, but the degeneracy of a people, whereas now our people have more promise (be it great or little) than before, not more corruption.

Can a true Church become weaker, while her children become better? Can a true Church lose her children, and those her better ones? If not, you are anxious about an impossibility.

Surely it will be unlike the ordinary ways of Providence if her better sort of children, after years of patient waiting and steady personal improvement, and against their feelings, wishes, and interests, leave a true Church. It seems to me simply unaccountable in the ways of Providence—and the expecting it implies so far forth a doubt whether ours *is* a true Church.

Be sure, my dear Pusey, when the blow comes, we shall in God's mercy have strength given us to bear it.

Pusey answered this letter on the evening of the day on which he had preached his second sermon at Ilfracombe.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Sunday Ev., Aug. 25, 1844.

MY VERY DEAR NEWMAN,

I say things so badly and have so little of that wisdom which would enable me to say them aright, that I am afraid of doing harm by anything I say. However, I ought to say something, because I have not yet made my meaning out to you. I have no fear whatever about the fall of what is called Anglicanism : no anxiety that the present Movement should end in what I see myself. One can but look to a re-union of the Church as the end, and how that should be,—whether by the explanation of the system as to St. Mary, so that such as I can understand it, or the modification of the mode of its expression—in a word, on what terms and in what way we be re-united to the rest of the Western Church, must be in His Hands, Who will guide, I trust, her and ours. I have no reserve on this point ; I have seen enough now of the writings, or rather of the lives of saints, wholly to mistrust myself, though what they might do safely I cannot do.

God has, too, so wonderfully kept us together, so strangely held people back in our communion, and then gave them contentment and growth in it, that I had ceased to have fears about it, sorrowful as are the losses from time to time which we undergo. I looked hopefully

on, and trusted entirely that while our Church is what it is, and did not commit itself in a wrong direction, and had thus visibly the means of grace, the body of her better children would stay in her. I trusted that any crisis would be averted, until she should be leavened. I trust so still. It would be so miserable that she should be left of those who have been God's instruments in restoring her to what she is becoming. The thought of it bewilders me and turns me dizzy, and I cannot think it will be. But what fears I had arose, my very dear Newman, from letters which H. W[ilberforce] showed me, when I met him in Kent at my brother's. They seemed to me more definite than any I had seen before. It was under the feeling that your will might be swayed, if, the prayers continuing in the Roman Church, there were not more prayer for you among ourselves (though doubtless there is very much) that I wrote in that way to C[oleridge] (though thinking nothing definite); and my object was to impress upon those to whom I wrote that more seemed to me at stake, and so there was need of more earnest prayer, than they thought for. In a word, the well-being of our Church seems to me, by God's Providence, to have been wrapped up in you. I mean in the same way as that of the Church Universal was in St. Athanasius, or Israel (in its disorders) in one of its judges. I do not mistrust. But seeing what looked like an anticipation of what would be such a blow, I could not but do as I did, pray, under the conditions I said. It was all I could do. I never meant to tell you of it. And then I wished other prayers should be more earnest. I am more at rest now; partly perhaps from natural sanguineness; partly seeing in different tokens how God's Hand is still with us, and so hoping on; partly from the act itself. So now be not pained any more. I could never have been saved but for sorrow.

I hope that harm from my Sentence may yet turn to good; or at least may be turned aside, though my sin produced it. I trust it has done me good. Outwardly also, it has severed me from persons whom I was wishing to influence. I trust, by God's mercy, it may have been of some use to me to be laid aside.

If there is this lull which the *English Churchman* has said, it is a most marvellous thing, as though that was true now—'the fierceness of man shall turn to Thy praise, and the remainder of wrath shalt Thou restrain.' Certainly it is out of the usual course, that the stronger things are said, the quieter opponents should become.

Poor Philip, finding that all hope of Holy Orders is probably gone through his infirmities (as they now give all prospect of his life), looks to a *μονή*: he asked me whether I hoped for them for men also, and seemed to think there was then something sacred in store for him.

Ever yours most affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

In a postscript Pusey discusses Newman's wish that English Church-people should no longer trust him:—

'It might be right in you to wish that people should not have confidence in you, and yet right in us to have it and wish that they should have it, and I felt that *I* could not have had any hand in doing what could any way prepare for what would be (I speak not of self) so deep a wound to our Church. In a word, write or speak or act as I may, I do not believe that it ever can be ; it goes against my whole nature to believe it. I cannot think that we should be so utterly deserted as that it should be permitted.'

Newman was placed in a position of extreme difficulty by his desire on the one hand that Pusey should not entertain false hopes, and on the other that he should not be pained, as he necessarily would be by being forced to abandon them.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oriel College, Aug. 28, 1844.

(I only had your letter this morning.)

MY DEAR PUSEY,

I have great anxiety about answering you. For myself I like to know and prepare for the worst of things—it distresses me not to look things full in the face, and in my case it is on the whole a saving of pain—but I cannot tell whether it is so to others. I would not for the world give you pain I could avoid. It would be most unworthy and shocking in me. Yet in so painful a subject, it does seem better to me to have all out once for all (which I had hoped Manning had done last year) than to keep hacking and hacking bit by bit.

Surely great part of one's pain is from suspense, anxiety, suspicion, anticipation—surely if I could but make you feel the worst, it must be a relief to you.

You very greatly overrate my consequence, and the surprise which any step on my part would cause. I believe a great number of persons are prepared for it. More and more are coming to expect it daily. I cannot realize it myself—any more than that to-day I may be in Oxford and to-morrow in York. You cannot realize it. But I believe we, who are close to the act, are the persons most difficult to be impressed with an anticipation of it. The shock and unsettlement attending it I have felt acutely for years—but every month is reconciling the minds of persons to it.

What, am I to say but that I am one who, even five years ago, had a strong conviction, from reading the history of the early ages, that we are not part of the Church ?

—that I am one whose conviction of it now is about as strong as of anything else he disbelieves—so strong that the struggle against it is doing injury to his faith in general, and is spreading a film of scepticism

over his mind—who is frightened, and cannot tell what it may end in, if he dares to turn a deaf ear to a voice which has so long spoken to him.

—that I am one who is at this time in disquiet when he travels, lest he should be suddenly taken off, before he has done what to *him* seems necessary.

For a long, long time my constant question has been, 'Is it a dream? is it a delusion?' and the wish to have decisive proof on this point has made me satisfied to wait—it makes me satisfied to wait still—but, should such as I be suddenly brought down to the brink of life, when God allows no longer time for deliberation, I suppose he would feel he must act, as is on the whole safest, under circumstances.

And now, my dear Pusey, do take in the whole of the case, nor shut your eyes, as you so kindly do continually, and God bless all things to you, as I am sure He will and does.

Ever yours affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

The effect of this letter on Pusey is best described by himself.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

MY DEAR N.

Friday evening [Aug. 30, 1844].

I do not shut my eyes now; I feel everything I do is hollow, and dread its cracking. But though I feel as in a vessel threatened with shipwreck, I trust that our Lord is still in her, and that, however perilled, she will not perish. I seem as if the waters were gathered on heaps on either side; yet trust that we are Israel, not Pharaoh's army, and so that they will not fall. This has been my feeling since the letters to Manning; I can hardly do anything or take interest in anything; perhaps it is all the better that it is so; but it seems like building on with a mine under the foundations. However, as I recover myself, I do hope that God will not allow this to be, nor destroy His work in the midst of the years, and so I hope, and commit things to Him Who can sway all hearts. I hardly know what sorrow can reach me now which does not involve the injury of single souls or of the Church; and so what I have done may involve nothing, in that all other chastening which I can have has been bestowed upon me already, except bodily suffering. However, it is done; I have desired and do desire that anything short of the loss of my own soul or that of others may come on me, so that our Church do not undergo that loss. However unworthy, He may accept it still.

Ever, my dear Newman,

Your very affectionate

E. B. PUSEY.

On the day of writing this letter from Clifton, Pusey had administered the Holy Communion to Mr. J. W. Bowden, whose illness had been for some weeks becoming increasingly serious. Apart from their friendship for Bowden, Pusey and Newman each felt an especial interest in his case as that of a man who had shared their intimate convictions, and was now passing into the Eternal World. To Pusey, Bowden's 'simple good faith' and 'sweet calm tranquillity'¹ were illustrations of the truth and office of the English Church which could thus brighten for her children the valley of the shadow of death. Newman 'expected that Bowden's illness would have brought light to his own mind, as to what he ought to do'².

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

MY DEAR N.

Brighton [Sept. 3, 1844].

Bowden seemed to think I should tell you something of his state. I wish I could say anything as to his bodily state, which should be cheering; but you will know all. There are more decided sorrowful symptoms than when I saw him in London, though not such, I believe, as should make one think that he would be very soon taken from us. Yet they are, I fear, distressing, and he seemed to feel that he wanted much the prayers of all his friends.

Ever your very affectionate

E. B. P.

A fortnight later, and all was over.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

17 Grosvenor Place, Sept. 17, 1844.

Marriott has told you all that was to be told pretty nearly. Dr. Bernard considered that his end was so near that, if he was to be moved, no time was to be lost. He said too he thought that he could be moved with safety, and that the moving might even for the time be of service to him. He kindly came with them. Bowden was most happy and peaceful all day, and did not complain of being overtired. They put him to bed directly he got here. Next morning at four o'clock he had a little coughing, and was at once suffocated. She saw it at once—nothing was to be done.

I shall stay here certainly till after the funeral: how much longer

¹ 'Apologia,' pp. 357, 359.

² *Ibid.*, p. 359.

I do not know. I suppose not long, perhaps no time. Mrs. Bowden bears it as no one could but herself. . . .

Ever yours affectionately,

J. H. N.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[Christ Church, Sept. 18],

Sept., Emb. Wed., 1844.

MY VERY DEAR N.

I was going to write to you to-day, though what have I to say to you which has not been said to you by Him Who is ever with you? These peaceful departures are bright spots in a cloudy sky. 'Lord, brighten our declining day.' I could not but think, from some words which he used, that he suffered more in body than he allowed to appear, for Mrs. Bowden's sake. He thought each closing day so much of his trial over. I was struck too by the way in which he asked for our prayers. And this makes that bright calm close the brighter. God be praised for His mercies.

What a long, long past seems closed; it makes one think that there can be but a short remaining earthly future. Yet He, I trust, is in the cloud now, Who was in the pillar of fire before.

I have not written to Mrs. Bowden, because she has now in you all which she can have on earth. But give my love to any of the dear little ones, whom it would not interrupt.

Ever, my dearest Newman, your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

It was but last year we compared [notes]; I had had twenty years of your friendship, he only had more. Thank you very much for your account.

Bowden's calm death was not without a certain although passing effect on Newman's convictions. 'When one sees so blessed an end, and that, the termination of so blameless a life, of one who really fed on our ordinances and got strength from them, . . . it is impossible not to feel more at ease in our Church¹.' Pusey, with his quick sensitiveness, was alive to this result of Bowden's death, and his buoyant sanguineness led him to make more of it than the facts would warrant. 'I have been most cheered,' he wrote to Newman, 'to hear of the comfort you have had in your late sorrowful but blessed occupation.' But Newman had sobbed bitterly over Bowden's coffin to think that 'he left me still dark as to what the way of truth was².'

¹ 'Apologia,' p. 359.

² Ibid.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OPPOSITION TO THE NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR—DEFEAT—
PROPOSED NEW UNIVERSITY TEST—CONDEMNATION
OF MR. WARD—ATTEMPTED CONDEMNATION OF
TRACT 90—PROSECUTION OF MR. OAKELEY.

1844-1845.

AT the beginning of Michaelmas Term, 1844, Dr. Wynter's term of office as Vice-Chancellor expired. Next in the order of succession was Dr. Symons, Warden of Wadham.

Dr. Symons, as one of the Six Doctors, had joined in the condemnation of Pusey's sermon; or, as Pusey himself would have said, of the doctrine contained in that sermon. Whilst at Ilfracombe, Pusey had received a letter from C. Marriott, insisting on this consideration, and asking whether it would be necessary to oppose Dr. Symons' nomination. Pusey thought that it would, not for any reason personal to himself, but 'as a protest against heresy.' He gave this opinion subject to Newman's assent. It would seem that at the time Newman expressed no opinion: those of the younger men who were verging towards Rome were opposed to the protest against Dr. Symons on the ground that it was useless to struggle for Catholic truths in the English Church, and that Dr. Pusey's judges represented her true principles.

When the Senior Proctor, Mr. Guillemard of Trinity, asked Dr. Wynter, the outgoing Vice-Chancellor, on what day the nomination of his successor would take place in Convocation, Dr. Wynter was unable or unwilling to satisfy him. Yet almost immediately after this application a circular was

issued, addressed to all the Masters of Arts of Wadham College, inviting them to dinner in the hall on Oct. 8th—a pretty plain intimation of the date of the event. This circular was the signal for others: the war had begun. The *British Critic* having expired in 1843, its more moderate successor, the *Christian Remembrancer*, appeared in October with a vigorous article on 'Dr. Symons and the Vice-Chancellorship.' The writer argued that Dr. Symons' share in the condemnation of Dr. Pusey justified the opposition to his nomination, and contended that the real disturbers of the peace of the University were those who by their arbitrary measures made such opposition necessary, in order to preserve the rights of Convocation. If the 'Wynter dynasty' had already encroached on those rights, what was to be expected from its successor?

'If Dr. Wynter, a sort of High Churchman, thinks proper to suspend Dr. Pusey without a trial, and to arrogate to himself and his successors the power of refusing degrees to persons whose theology they dislike¹, not a *fortiori*, but a *fortissimo*, what could be anticipated from Dr. Symons²?'

It was well for Oxford that no long time would elapse before the question was decided: and from the first there was no probability of a majority for the opposition to Dr. Symons, notwithstanding the signal defeat of the Hebdomadal Council on May 2nd³. The natural unwillingness of members of Convocation to interfere with the routine of academical government was reinforced by the misgiving whether victory, if it were attainable, would secure the objects which the opposition had at heart. Keble indeed contended that it would 'make the next man, whoever he

¹ Alluding to the case of the Rev. R. G. Macmullen.

² *Christian Remembrancer*, Oct. 1844, p. 537.

³ A statute had been on that day proposed to Convocation substituting read Dissertations for Disputations, as exercises for the degree of B.D., the virtual effect of which was to place the refusal of the degree in the hands

of the Regius Professor of Divinity and the Vice-Chancellor. This measure, intended to support Dr. Hampden in his contest with Mr. Macmullen, was rejected by 341 votes to 21—'a majority,' remarked C. Marriott, 'which makes its proposers look rather foolish' (letter to Bishop of New Zealand, May 9, 1844).

be, more careful¹. Pusey became more decided as the day of nomination approached.

E. B. P. TO REV. W. B. PUSEY.

October, 1844.

'I use no concealment now, if I ever did, that I think Dr. S. ought to be opposed as a protest against heresy and heretical decisions. If the University accepted him without a protest, it seemed like making itself a party to it.'

And, referring to those of his friends who on various grounds refused to join in the opposition to Dr. Symons, he added:—

'I hope some good will come of all this independence: but so many good people have crotchets. It is the most difficult thing to bring people to act together: every one has a way of his own, or grounds of his own, instead of acting on broad principles.'

The nomination was fixed for Tuesday, October 8th. Pusey had gone to Pusey with his mother, who, since his eldest daughter's death, had spent a great part of her time with him. 'Poor Dr. Pusey,' writes his sister-in-law, 'looks much harassed by this coming election of the Vice-Chancellor at Oxford'; and this would not have been lessened on his returning to Oxford on Saturday, October 5th.

LADY LUCY PUSEY TO LADY EMILY PUSEY.

Oxford, Oct. 5, 1844.

Edward hears that there may be 900 voters coming up. Dr. Hook has made an exceeding blunder, and thrown things just at the last into extreme confusion. He has given out, on a conjecture, that only Mr. Ward's friends are going to vote, so he shall not come up. This is to be contradicted in *The Times*. Edward says we are all in a great mess. This is all dictated by Edward.

The result was a foregone conclusion: the opposition to Dr. Symons' nomination was defeated by 882 votes to 183. The minority was certainly small; yet that a protest of such a kind should receive so many votes was quite unexpected by the majority.

Although Pusey, in his sanguine way, tried to make the

¹ 'Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley,' p. 154.

best of a serious defeat, he could not, upon reflection, fail to see that he had been wrong in sanctioning the contest at all. He sanctioned it as a 'protest against heresy'; but in this case the question of heresy was so bound up with the personal issue between himself and his judges, that the protest could not be made without being attributed to a selfish motive. Pusey was too conscious of the purity of his own motive to take this into account: but nevertheless it had much to do with the result. The contest of October, 1844, marks the transfer of the mass of the country clergy who were members of Convocation from an attitude of vague sympathy with the Tractarian leaders to the cause of their opponents. Newman, with his keen statesmanlike instincts, was painfully aware of its significance. He writes to Pusey:—

' Littlemore, F. of St. John, 1844.

' The country parsons are of unfathomable strength: they and the Conservative feeling which moved with them turned out Sir Robert Peel in 1829; brought in the Duke of Wellington in 1834; censured Hampden in 1836; and made Symons Vice-Chancellor in 1844.'

Newman indeed attributed the error of embarking on the last contest to the letters of the Rev. John Morris, under the signature of N. E. S., in the *English Churchman*. But Pusey would not disavow his own responsibility for what he now felt to have been a wrong method of asserting a right principle.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

56 Marine Parade, [Brighton.]

Mo. in Oct. of Xmas. [Dec. 30], 1844.

MY DEAREST N.,

The mistake about opposing the V. C. was mine, much more than N. E. S.'s; C. M. wrote to me, when at Ilfracombe, and although I wished the matter to be decided by others I fear it was decided in consequence of what I said myself. I was applying a principle of yours, of a protest against heresy, in a wrong way: and I did not get at your real opinion, being prevented, I forget how, from seeing you.

Meanwhile the majority of the Heads of Houses were at least as much alive as Pusey to the mistake which had been

made by the opposition to Symons; and they proceeded without delay to take advantage of it. Mr. E. Coleridge, of Eton, had replied to some taunts of the majority on Oct. 8th, by observing, 'We have a saying at school that when a little boy fights a big boy, the big boy does not bully him again¹.' The 'big boy' in the Hebdomadal Board was of another mind. This was his hour. 'There is a general set upon us from all quarters,' wrote Mr. J. B. Mozley, 'Conservative and Radical. The press never was so malignant².'

In June, W. G. Ward, Fellow of Balliol, had published his 'Ideal of a Christian Church considered in comparison with existing practice.' Its immediate purpose was the defence of certain articles in the *British Critic* against criticisms in the Rev. W. Palmer's 'Narrative of Events connected with the Tracts for the Times.' But the book was much more than a large controversial tract. It was a substantial treatise, marked by the combination of moral fervour and implacable—or perhaps rather unbalanced—logic which were characteristic of its author. It was and is valuable as pointing out undeniable shortcomings and evils in the practical system of the Church of England; and if the 'Ideal of a Christian Church' with which she was placed in contrast had been only the Church of the primitive ages, Mr. Ward's book could never have been unacceptable to honest and earnest Anglicans. As it was, the 'Ideal' in the writer's mind appeared to be, at least largely, the actual Roman system; while the points in which the Church of England, in spite of her practical deficiencies, had approached more nearly than Rome to a truer ideal, were altogether ignored. Thus—apart from incidental provocative phrases—this brilliant work failed to achieve a religious success which was within its author's reach, and furnished a weapon to the opponents of the principles with which he was associated.

Pusey had been reading the book during the Long

¹ 'Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley,' p. 156.

² *Ibid.*, letter of Nov. 8, 1844.

Vacation, and wrote to Hook, who had been much disturbed by it.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

Ilfracombe, Aug. 16, 1844.

I know, my dear friend, you will not be impatient. I have read most of Ward's very strong book (in which however he is very careful as to the subject you mention, the worship of the Blessed Virgin); there is so much of religious earnestness and practical wisdom in it, that, however it makes one wince sometimes, I trust it will do us good.

Hook rejoined that Ward 'maligned the English Church for the purpose of eulogizing that of Rome.'

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

Christ Church, Sept. 5, 1844.

If you knew . . . Ward you would be more patient. For myself, I see, on the one hand, how deeply in earnest and conscientious and really personally humble he is, very affectionate too and loving; on the other, I feel how deep our wounds are, and that we shall get no good until they are probed to the bottom, and therefore, however painful the process and rough the hands may seem, I am glad to undergo it, and thankful for it. Indeed, he does not 'malign our Church for the purpose of eulogizing that of Rome,' but I believe his feeling to be this in part: we have great practical evils, such as neglect of discipline, of care of the poor, carelessness as to heresy, and alas! so many more, and as long as we have this high opinion of ourselves, and contempt of our neighbours, there is no hope of our mending. If we obtain humility, all will be well: and I do feel I myself have learnt of him, in learning a humbler tone.

Pusey took now a more decided step. 'I have taken an opportunity,' he wrote to Newman, 'in my new preface¹, with some reserve, to express my sympathy in Ward's articles and his book.' But undoubtedly in thus expressing himself he was pushing his chivalry to its utmost limits. The 'Ideal of a Christian Church' was certainly open to serious criticism from an Anglican point of view, and it helped to swell Dr. Symons' majority on October 8th. The Hebdomadal Board, under the presidency of the new

¹ Surin's 'Foundations of the Spiritual Life,' pref. p. 55, note a, 1st ed. In the 1874 ed. this note was

omitted, the circumstances which led Pusey to write it being altogether of the past.

and victorious Vice-Chancellor, was not likely, in these days, to let it alone; and the results of its deliberations soon showed themselves.

On Nov. 30th Mr. Ward was summoned to appear before the Vice-Chancellor. He was asked, first, whether he disavowed the authorship; and, secondly, whether he disavowed certain passages in the book. His reply was that he could not answer without consulting his friends, and perhaps taking legal advice. This the Vice-Chancellor allowed him to do, and on Dec. 3rd Mr. Ward again appeared before him. On this occasion Mr. Ward declined, under legal advice, to answer any question whatever until he knew more definitely the course which it was intended to adopt against him. The Vice-Chancellor did not keep him long in suspense. On Dec. 13th notice was given of three propositions to be submitted to Convocation on Feb. 13th. By the first of these it was declared that certain passages in the 'Ideal of a Christian Church' were utterly inconsistent with the Thirty-nine Articles, and with Mr. Ward's good faith in subscribing them in order to his admission to the degrees of B.A. and M.A. By the second Mr. Ward was to be degraded from his degrees. The third proposed a 'test to be imposed on all persons, lay or clerical, who might hereafter be suspected of unsound opinions, in place of simple subscription.' Every such person was to declare that he subscribed the Articles in the sense in which he believed them to have been originally drawn up, and to be imposed by the University at the present time¹.

On the day following the publication of this notice, Mr. Ward presented a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, which he immediately published. He explained why he had not before avowed his authorship of the 'Ideal'; and he now

¹ The proposed test ran thus: 'Ego A. B. articulis fidei et religionis, necnon tribus articulis in Canone XXXVI^o comprehensis subscripturus, profiteor, fide meâ datâ huic Universitati, me articulis istis omnibus et

singulis eo sensu subscripturum in quo eos ex animo credo et primitus editos esse et nunc mihi ab Universitate propositos, tanquam opinionum mearum certum ac indubitatum signum.'

acknowledged it, and accepted full responsibility for all its contents.

On the same day Newman saw Pusey, and discussed the situation. At first he could only suggest a petition to the Board from people of all parties, and based on general considerations only.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Dec. 16, 1844.

What is drawn up should expressly waive any opinion on the two first Articles and on the general question, but put the matter on the ground of the peace and comfort of the place, the desirableness of a good understanding between residents, of frank intercourse, &c.—on the wretchedness of gossiping, talebearing, prying, delating—in short, of Golightlyism. I really am sanguine that men, if but written to, when *they see names*, would come into this. No time ought to be lost.

But when he heard that Pusey had determined never to sign the test if it were proposed to him, he suggested that Pusey should at once say so in a public letter. The following letter, as if written to a personal friend, was therefore sent to the *English Churchman*, as soon as Newman had read it. It was evident that in proposing the test the Heads had outwitted themselves.

Christ Church, Advent Ember Week,

Tuesday, [Dec. 17], 1844.

MY DEAR —

You ask me what I should do in case this new test, to be proposed to Convocation, should pass. I would say at once, that others, not so immediately affected or intended by this test as I am, need not, I should think, make up their minds yet. I plainly have no choice: it is not meant that I should take it, nor can I.

You will not mistake me; I sign the Articles as I ever have since I have known what Catholic Antiquity is (to which our Church guides us) in their 'literal grammatical sense,' determined, where it is ambiguous, by 'the faith of the whole Church' (as good Bishop Ken says) 'before East and West were divided.' It is to me quite plain that in so doing I am following the guidance of our Church.

The proposed test restrains the liberty which Archbishop Laud won for us.

Hitherto High and Low Church have been comprised under the same Articles.

And I have ever felt that in these sad confusions of our Church,

things must so remain, until, by the mercy of Almighty God, we be brought more nearly into one mind.

But as long as this is so, the Articles cannot be (which the new test requires) 'certum atque indubitatum opinionum signum.'

How can they be any 'certain and indubitable token of opinion' when they can be signed by myself and —? This new test requires that they should be: one then of the two parties who have hitherto signed them must be excluded. We know that those who framed the test are opposed to such as myself. It is clear then *who* are henceforth excluded. The test is indeed at once miserably vague and stringent; vague enough to tempt people to take it, too stringent in its conclusion to enable me to take it with a good conscience.

Beginning and end do harmonize, if it be regarded as a revival of the Puritan 'Anti-Declaration,' that the Articles should be interpreted according to 'the consent of Divines'; they do not in any other case. This shifting of ground would indeed (were not so much at stake) be somewhat curious; how those who speak so much of 'fallible men' would require us now to be bound in the interpretation of the Articles by the private judgement of the Reformers (it being assumed, for convenience sake, that Cranmer, Ridley, and Hooper, agreed among themselves), instead of Archbishop Laud's broader and truer rule, 'according to the analogy of the Faith'.¹ It would indeed be well, if all who have urged on this test could sign the first and eighth Articles, in the same sense as Cranmer and Jewell. Well indeed would it be for our Church, if all could sign the twenty-seventh in the same sense as all the Reformers, except perhaps Hooper. One could have wished that, before this test had been proposed to us, the Board who accepted it and proposes it to us, had thought of ascertaining among themselves whether they themselves all took 'all and singular of the Articles in one and the same sense.'

And yet while they enjoy this latitude, how can the signature of the Articles be any 'certain and indubitable token of people's opinions'?

However, this is matter for others; my concern is with myself.

I have too much reason to know that my own signature of the Articles would not satisfy some of those from whom this test emanates, since, when a year and a half ago, I declared repeatedly (as I then stated) that I accepted and would subscribe, *ex animo*, every statement of our Formularies on the solemn subject upon which I preached, that offer was rejected; and this on the very ground (I subsequently learnt) that they did not trust my interpretation.

When, then, they require that the signature should be 'certum atque indubitatum opinionum mearum signum,' it is plain that they mean something more than what I offered and they refused to accept.

The Articles I now sign in the way in which, from Archbishop Laud's time, they have been proposed by *the Church*: this test

¹ See Heylin's 'Life of Laud,' pp. 178-182.

I should have to receive not from the Church, but from the *University*, in the sense in which it is proposed to me by them. Could I then ever so much satisfy myself that I could take the test according to any general meaning of the words, I must know from past experience that I should not take it in the sense in which it was proposed to me.

I could not then take it without a feeling of dishonesty.

You will imagine that I feel the responsibility of making such a declaration, knowing, as I must, that in case, in the present state of excitement, the Statute should pass, younger men, whom it may involve in various difficulties, might be influenced by my example. I know, too, of course, that some will be the more anxious to press the test, in hopes that my refusal to take it may end in my removal from this place. Whether it would or no, I know not. But, whatever the result, it seems to me the straightforward course. It is best, in cases of great moment, that people should know the effect of what they are doing.

I am ashamed to write so much about myself, but I cannot explain myself in few words. What is my case, would probably be that of others. It has often been painful to witness the apparent want of seriousness in people when things far more serious than office, or home, or even one's allotted duties in God's vineyard, have been at stake. But people can feel more readily what it is to lose office and home and the associations of the greater part of life. It will be a great gain, if what is done is done with deeper earnestness. For myself, I cheerfully commit all things into His hands, Who ordereth all things well, and from Whom I deserve nothing.

E. B. PUSEY.

No one in our day would defend an attempt on the part of the University to impose a doctrinal test which the Bishops did not impose at ordination. No one would think of substituting for subscription to the Articles in the literal and grammatical sense, subscription in the sense, or rather the very various senses, of the original compilers of the Articles, as to which, every student of the Reformation knows, a hundred questions might be asked that could not possibly be answered. Nor would the majority of the Hebdomadal Board have embarked on this wild crusade unless they had been blinded by party feeling, and unable for the moment to estimate the general bearings of a measure which was deemed necessary to satisfy it.

Lady Lucy Pusey's correspondence at the time reflects a mother's natural anxiety.

LADY LUCY PUSEY TO LADY EMILY PUSEY.

[35 Grosvenor Square,] Dec. 20, [1844].

MY DEAR LADY EMILY,

I am sure both you and Philip are sorry for what is going forward at Oxford and for Edward's letter in the *English Churchman*. I fear for the consequences. Private. When he first knew of the intended Statute, he called it a struggle for life or death, but he did not think of declaring his own opinion publicly, but he thought he might be attacked: he doubts their power of turning him out of his Canonry, as he was given it by the Sovereign's Patent, under the Great Seal. As the party goes by his name, they would doubtless be glad to get rid of him, being the supposed head: Dr. Hawkins and Dr. Cardwell were the persons most urgent about these measures.

Pusey and his friends, however, were not alone in their objection to the proposed test. Dr. Tait, one of the Four Tutors who had delated Tract 90, and who was now Head Master of Rugby, could not but feel that the sense in which he and his friends subscribed the Formularies was not such as to enable them to welcome the imposition of a test designed to make subscription more stringent. He was not prepared to save Mr. Ward from degradation. The excesses of Latitudinarian liberty in one direction did not warrant the excesses of Tractarian liberty in another: in Mr. Ward 'liberty had degenerated into licence.' But the test would mean danger for persons whom the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads would desire to protect. So Dr. Tait employed his Christmas holidays in writing to the Vice-Chancellor a letter, of which this topic is at once the motive and the leading feature:—

'If there is one point to which they [i. e. the Latitudinarians] are, from their very principles, pledged, it is to a dislike of more tests than are absolutely necessary. The damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed and the 18th Article (to say nothing of many other points of difficulty, which have not like them been made public by an appeal to Parliament), must of necessity warn them to pause, before they bind themselves more strictly than now to the letter of the Articles¹.

¹ 'Letter to the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor, on the measures to be proposed in Convocation on Feb. 13,'

by A. C. Tait, D.C.L., Head Master of Rugby School. W. Blackwood, Edinburgh and London, 1845.

Pusey's hostility to the proposals of the Hebdomadal Board was not confined to their projected new test. It was no less directed against their plan for degrading Mr. Ward. Pusey did not himself accept—he deeply regretted—the anti-Anglican language of parts of the 'Ideal.' But he resented, with the whole force of his moral nature, the pretended zeal for orthodoxy which proposed to visit such language with extreme penalties while it left error, which to a serious Christian should appear much more vital, altogether uncensured.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

Advent, Ember Wednesday, [Dec. 18,] 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

. . . I do think these measures against Ward absolutely shocking, because (1) the Heads of Houses themselves think him honest; and how is his subscription (on any hypothesis) so bad as those who impugn the doctrine of the Trinity or deny the grace of the Sacraments? While Archbishop Whately is Archbishop of Dublin, the zeal against Ward only makes the indifference as to grave heresy the more shocking. Picture Rome (which indeed you do not know, my dear friend, on its good side) as bad as you can, what should you think of a judge who punished adultery with death and appointed a murderer to high station? Should you think his punishment of adultery a proof of his sensitiveness of any breach of the law of God?

(2) Ward is really very greatly benefiting the Church by his practical suggestions and opening people's eyes to amend things. It is shocking to think of 'degrading' one by whom we are benefiting.

(3) For the Low Church who cannot receive the Baptismal Service, except by some violent perversion, to help to hunt down Ward is most outrageous.

I wish you would read the extracts from Ward's book calmly. I think they would modify some of the (forgive the word) bitterness of your feeling against W.; they may show his real affection to our Church although you do not understand his way of showing it.

In haste, your very affectionate,

E. B. P.

I find that persons who think and have spoken strongly against Ward's book, as W. Barter, E. Churton, &c., still strongly deprecate the measure and are going to vote against it: others again will vote for No. 1 and against 2. I shall vote against both, but explain that I do not agree with the book, and this I hope will relieve the embarrassment of some who would not like to speak, yet would not wish to seem to approve of the book.

Hook could not see 'why Ward should not be condemned merely because he has done some good amidst much harm.' Mr. W. K. Hamilton had received a letter from Pusey written in terms resembling that to Dr. Hook.

REV. W. K. HAMILTON TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR SIR,

Close, Sarum, Dec. 20, 1844.

. . . I quite agree with you that the toleration of unsound teaching—the making light of Truth—has been so common at Oxford as to throw no inconsiderable suspicion around any measure emanating from the authorities there as a protection to it; and as far as I can see at present this measure would throw many snares in the way of delicate consciences, and possibly force many out of the communion of our Church. . . .

With regard to the proposed degradation of Ward, I do feel much more perplexed. I read his book with intense interest, I may say with very great profit, but I quite abhor the disloyal feeling to our Church in which it is written. Very probably he has not overstated our most grievous shortcomings as a Church, but there is no evidence of publishing a parent's dishonour with sorrow, and the effect upon any doubtful mind must be to detach it altogether from us. Then it appears to me that in his indifference, or almost his contempt of her, his spiritual parent, he has overdrawn the picture of the Roman Church. . . .

What seems wanted is to maintain the loyal feeling towards our Church, and at the same time to draw persons on to an appreciation of better things than we have for ages enjoyed: in fact, to act as Ward recommends in the latter part of his book, but abstaining from his undutiful tone. . . .

Ever, dear Sir, yours gratefully attached,

W. K. HAMILTON.

Meanwhile an effort had been made in Oxford to organize an intermediate or moderate opposition to the proposed test. A meeting was held in the rooms of Mr. Eden of Oriel College, and it was attended by C. Balston, Daman, Donkin, Heathcote, and others. It came to nothing, owing to a discussion on the Reformation which was occasioned by remarks in Eden's introductory speech. Combination among the Liberal opponents of the test was attempted, but with no greater success.

'Every one,' wrote Newman to Pusey on Dec. 27, 'has his own opinion, and there are no older persons to whom others might

defer. . . I have not seen Church or Mozley; but I fear they would confirm my desponding view of Oxford.'

Pusey thanked Newman for checking his sanguine anticipations. But, *naturam expellas furcâ*—: he could not but be sanguine in the next paragraph of his reply.

56 Marine Parade, Brighton,

Mo. in Oct. of Xmas. [Dec. 30], 1844.

MY DEAREST N.

. . . It is indeed an anxious thing, when one thinks of the 2,900 members of Convocation, and that our whole Church is stirred to its foundations; there is no calculating on numbers; it seems taken out of all human calculation and agency almost; and so, since it is a crisis, I trust the more in Him Who alone can dispose the issue.

Yet almost every one writes sanguinely, and certainly it will re-unite persons who have been scattered or were not with us on the last occasion. John Miller (Worcester), Manning, E. Churton, Hook (thus far), Gresley, Archdeacon Berens, Saunders (Charterhouse), R. Wilberforce. Then some of these take it up warmly, as Saunders, also. Manning, if he votes at all on 1 and 2, will vote against them. Keble writes: 'It is pleasant to hear from all sides of the disgust which the test is exciting. But I fear it will go hard with Ward.' Moberly is only afraid that the test should be withdrawn, and so the Heads be saved a defeat. Badeley: 'I hope, from all I hear, the test will be defeated. E. Hawkins, who is in the way of seeing people, told me everybody he had met with was strong against it.'

Richards tells me people in London are lukewarm about a Committee. I am to write to-morrow to try to rouse them. I wish Copeland would try to keep people together in Oxford, but I have to write to him about the Paradisus, and will say something myself.

Meanwhile, it is a great comfort to see a very deep undercurrent of good steadily flowing on, and that in persons who are the formation of our own Church. I have of late been allowed to come in contact with more of such minds than heretofore, and to see very deep workings. . . . All consolations be with you always.

Ever your very affectionate

E. B. PUSEY.

The considerations which told most effectually against the proposals of the Hebdomadal Board are powerfully stated by Mr. Gladstone¹. He expresses with unanswerable force the absurdity of making a man subscribe the Formularies 'in the present sense of the University,' and,

¹ Letter to Archdeacon S. Wilberforce. 'Life of Bishop Wilberforce,' i. pp. 249-255.

with prophetic insight, described the proposed test as 'a violent blow to the whole doctrine and practice of subscription.' If tenaciously adhered to it would 'break down subscription altogether'; 'in my view,' he added, 'a very deplorable catastrophe.' And although the propositions extracted from Mr. Ward's book might be each and all of them deserving of censure, yet how inequitable was it to censure them and to leave errors of an opposite kind, but of a much more deadly character, unnoticed! 'If Ward is to be censured for what he wrote of the Reformation, what is to be done with regard to other prominent and dignified members of the University¹?' Was it censurable, he asks, to disparage the Reformation, but permissible to promulgate heresy respecting the Revealed Nature of Almighty God?

Archdeacon S. Wilberforce also, who was at the time in general sympathy with the policy of the Hebdomadal Board, represented to the Vice-Chancellor the 'bungling' character of this attempt to secure the end which its promoters desired². In fact, as general discussion proceeded, the defenders of the proposed test became less confident and fewer in numbers. Consequently at the meeting of the Hebdomadal Board on Monday, Jan. 13, it was resolved to withdraw the test. This resolution, however, was not made public for ten days. On January 23rd the notice of December 13th was reissued, but with the omission of the last proposal, and the insertion of a note to the effect that the projected test would not be submitted to the House.

Attention was now concentrated, by both sides, on the case of Mr. Ward. Were the proposed measures against Mr. Ward legally within the competence of the University? Messrs. Bethell and Dodson gave an opinion strongly against their legality³. 'Any opinion,' said the Hebdomadal advocates of the degradation, 'could be got for two guineas⁴.' Still, cheap as the opinion was, it made them uncomfortable. It was difficult to bring on the measure in spite of such an

¹ 'Life of Bp. Wilberforce,' i. 251.

² *Ibid.*, p. 257.

³ J. B. Mozley's 'Letters,' p. 159.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

opinion. Accordingly a case was submitted to the Solicitor-General, Sir C. Wetherell, Dr. Adams, and Mr. Cowling. They ruled that the University had the power to degrade, that the passages from Mr. Ward's book justified action being taken against him; and that if Convocation should vote his degradation, the only appeal would lie to the Queen as Visitor. This opinion was circulated among members of Convocation.

Meanwhile, although the proposed test had been withdrawn, a new weapon against the Oxford school was devised to take its place. In 1841 the Heads of Houses had published a resolution of their own in language drawn up by the Provost of Oriel, which condemned Tract 90 as 'evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors they were designed to counteract.' Pusey and Newman, at that date, would have welcomed the proposal of such a censure to the acceptance of Convocation. They had no doubt what would have been its fate; but the Hebdomadal Board never ventured to propose it. Much however had happened since 1841. Newman had resigned St. Mary's. Pusey had been suspended. Some secessions to Rome had taken place: it was already rumoured that Newman might secede. Ward's book appeared to many minds to justify the action of the Hebdomadal Board in past years; while the vote on the proposal to negative Dr. Symons' nomination to the Vice-Chancellorship appeared to show that Convocation had now parted company with the Tractarian leaders, and might be relied on to obey the guidance of the Heads of Houses.

Accordingly arrangements were made for inducing the University to adopt as its own the opinion of Tract 90 which four years before had been formulated by the Heads of Houses. The usual agencies were already at work.

'Golightly,' wrote Mr. J. B. Mozley, 'is in thick communication with Dr. Ellerton, and is coming in and going out of College every day. He and E. and F. are the trio on the subject ¹.'

¹ J. B. Mozley's 'Letters,' p. 161.

An address was presented to the Vice-Chancellor, signed by 476 members of Convocation¹, asking him to submit the censure of 1841 to Convocation for its approval: and notwithstanding the irregularly short interval between the presentation of the petition and its discussion², it was resolved by the Hebdomadal Board, at their meeting of February 3rd, to comply with the prayer of the petitioners by asking Convocation, at its meeting on the 13th, after condemning Mr. Ward, to censure Tract 90.

‘Only an exceedingly vulgar animus of a party,’ wrote J. B. Mozley, ‘could have brought itself to wake up a thing from four years ago, and *apropos* to nothing, to censure a man who has withdrawn from the University³.’

Probably the proposal to condemn Tract 90 was partly due to an epigram of Mr. Ward’s. Ward had said that he subscribed some of the formularies in a non-natural sense, and this phrase was thenceforth applied to the interpretation of the Articles advocated in Tract 90. Pusey always resented its injustice: he maintained that the interpretation of the tract was at least as natural and honest as the ordinary Protestant interpretation. And Newman, after he had become a Roman Catholic, and therefore when he was under a temptation to make a present of the tenableness of his position as an Anglican to its Puritan or Liberal opponents, asserted no less strongly his repudiation of the moral stigma conveyed by the term ‘non-natural.’ In a letter to the *Times*, dated Feb. 24, 1863, referring to a criticism of Mr. F. D. Maurice, who was at the time engaged in a hostile correspondence with Pusey, Newman wrote:—

‘I maintained in Tract 90 that the Thirty-nine Articles ought to be subscribed in the literal and grammatical sense; but I maintained also that they were so drawn up as to admit, in that grammatical sense, of subscription on the part of persons who differed very much

¹ The whole correspondence with the signatories of this address is in the hands of the writer. From this it is clear that this attack on Tract 90 was in no way originated by any member of the Hebdomadal Board. It was

started by an insignificant agitator whose name was never intended to transpire.

² J. B. Mozley’s ‘Letters,’ p. 161.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

from each other in the judgement which they formed of Catholic doctrine.'

Still, the word 'non-natural' did its work. It was worth a great deal to the opponents of the Movement during the year 1845.

Pusey knew that the proposed censure of Tract 90 was just as much aimed against himself as against the author of the tract. The preamble to the censure stated that modes of interpretation such as those of the tract 'had since been advocated in other publications purporting to be written by members of the University.' 'They proposed,' wrote Pusey in 1865, 'to condemn not the author of Tract 90 alone, but its defenders *en masse*, such as the late W. B. Heathcote and myself¹.' He hoped therefore that the attack on Tract 90 would rally Newman to the defence of the Tractarian position in Oxford.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Christ Church, Shrove Tuesday [Feb. 4], 1845.

It is wretched to have holy seasons, which one needs, thus broken in upon: however, I must break in on yours. I would have come out to-night, but that I thought to see Copeland, and that he would have learnt from you what you think best.

I should hope the Heads would suffer from the invidiousness of proposing the condemnation of Tract 90 at nine days' notice. Might one possibly fight with more advantage now than if it were to be put off by the Proctors' veto, if one can get it? There is no time to lose in deciding which course to take.

Recollect that I am committed to Tract 90 as well as you, and so are so many others who would feel the blow, as I should not for myself: so give me your judgement, as to the best line for our common defence. Could you send in an answer by *one* to-morrow, when there is to be a meeting? I would not use or hint at your name, except to Marriott or Church.

His sanguine temperament had again blinded him to the process which had been steadily advancing in Newman's mind. Newman had no heart for resistance, in a case where defeat would be an indication from above that he ought to leave his present position.

¹ Tract 90, with Historical Preface by E. B. Pusey, pref. p. xxiii.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

Littlemore, Feb. 6, 1845.

Thank you much for your new book through Copeland. I should not be honest, if I did not begin by saying that I shall be glad, selfishly speaking, if this decree passes. Long indeed have I been looking for external circumstances to determine my course—and I do not wish this daylight to be withdrawn. Moreover, I have had to take so lukewarm a part about Ward, that I am really glad and relieved to find myself at last in the scrape. The only drawback is, that I am not alone in it, not, I fear, from tenderness towards him, so much as that it would be a more dignified thing if I stood by myself.

I cannot say that I have any pain about it, and I could not honestly approximate in the faintest degree to an appeal *ad misericordiam*.

All this makes me a bad adviser. But again my *raw* opinion is worth little. I continually change it. It is after talking with others, and one or two good nights' sleep, that I begin to have a view, whether a right or wrong one. I fear my opinion at this moment would come to nothing.

As to the veto, I suppose the only reason for using it would be the hope that the Hebdomadal Board could not bring forward as a substantive measure next term, what it is encouraged to do by the occasion of the meeting on the 13th. Yet on the other hand, if the Government is for them, they may be forced on—and I really should fear that the Protestant spirit in the University is roused, and that it would force on the Heads of Houses. I do not see any chance of a *reaction*. They are in a tide of victories—the Exeter matters—the Stone Altar decision—the turn of the *Times*, will all add to the natural determination of Englishmen. Recollect, they disperse French mobs by playing water engines on them, which would in England lead to an insurrection. Then again, if they *did* bring it on again, would it not be a more stringent measure? Might they not bring on a *negative* test, viz. that subscribers to the Articles did not hold *such and such* opinions? If it be said that no act of the University can narrow a subscription which Church and State have left open (as the lawyers say) this can be said also of the proposed measure. I do not see then any reason for recommending a veto, unless an increase (if so) in the minority be an object.

I wish I had more or better to say, but I can think of nothing else.

Ever yours affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

P. S. Of course if the measure *were* brought forward again, there would be an apparent feebleness and unworthiness in the Proctors having vetoed it—which showed itself in Hampden's case; and an unpleasant imitation or paralleling of the then Proctors' conduct.

Another letter, to another correspondent, shows how fatally Pusey was mistaken in thinking that he could

any longer expect hearty counsel or co-operation from Newman.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. MILLER.

MY DEAR MILLER,

Littlemore, Feb. 11, 1845.

Many thanks indeed for your kind and feeling letter, though I could not help sadly smiling at your thinking me deficient in patience. I suppose many persons think so, but they are wide of the mark, and time, which shows so many things, will prove that to talk of patience is *nihil ad rem*, in this matter.

The matter now going on has not given me a moment's pain—nay, or interest. I did not even open the letter at once in which came the information of what the Hebdomadal Board had done, and I think I should go to bed quietly Thursday, Friday, Saturday night, though the news of Thursday's proceedings did not reach me.

Nothing that has yet *happened* all along has *caused* me to take any step which I have taken—though much has happened heretofore to augment the pain under which I acted. But now I have no pain about these ecclesiastical movements. I am too far gone for that.

. . . Considering this conviction came on me going on for six years ago, when you think how much I have written against it, how much I have done in keeping others from it, I do not think, whatever be my fault, you will accuse me of want of patience.

It is now near six years since I have said a word against the Church of Rome, except in my letter to the Bishop of Oxford four years ago, when he bid me.

I know how much this will pain you; but I have borne *patiently* the charge of *impatience* long—and the truth must be known now.

After writing to Newman on Shrove Tuesday, Pusey wrote to Mr. Gladstone, who had just resigned the Presidency of the Board of Trade in Sir R. Peel's Cabinet on the question of the Maynooth grant.

E. B. P. TO W. E. GLADSTONE, ESQ.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,

Christ Church, Shrove Tuesday, 1845.

I can write more freely to you, now you yourself are free, and commit, I suppose, no one but myself: and much misgiving as the announcement caused me as to our immediate prospects, I felt much comfort that you are free, parted from those whom I mistrust, so as not to be responsible for their acts, and reserved, I trust, under God's Providence and by His grace, for a future day.

I am sorry to break in upon you thus, although your time, I suppose, is scarcely ever your own; yet I could not but wish to write to you, as to this monstrous attempt to condemn at nine days' notice Tract 90,

and with it one to whom we all owe more than we can say—God's chosen instrument to us for our souls' good.

I know not what will or can be done, but I am sure you will do what you can to avert such a blow.

Yours most faithfully,

E. B. PUSEY.

You will not suppose that by the first page I wish for any answer. The only object of my note is the second. I must feel the uncongeniality of mind and principle between you and your late colleagues, more than you, who are obliged to look on everything on its best side. I must not write on thus : but only say that in expressing my own feelings I do not mean to elicit yours nor to imply that they are the same.

Mr. Gladstone's reply defines with great explicitness his attitude to the controversy which was dividing Oxford.

W. E. GLADSTONE, ESQ., TO E. B. P.

13 Carlton House Terrace, Feb. 7, 1845.

MY DEAR DR. PUSEY,

No man more bitterly deploras than I do the more recent changes in the views of Mr. Newman : but I never felt anything more strongly than the proceedings now meditated at Oxford : it is enough to make the heart burst to witness them. They pass mere argument, and appear like the fruits of a judgement of God.

Of my own motion however, and without concert or advice, I wrote yesterday to Dr. Hawkins a letter, intended by way of appeal, from myself as a member of the Convocation, to the Board of Heads : and in terms as respectful as I could devise, I have demanded time. I made some reference to Mr. Newman : but the main tenor of the letter was to demand time on the ground of public decency, and that I may have some opportunity of considering the matters on which I am called to vote.

I have written again to-day at greater length, in the way of objection to the form of the Proposal on many grounds : and have selected two particular interpretations from Tract 90 (Articles XII. and XIX.), which I, as at present advised, adopt, and ask to know whether they are or are not included in the vote for condemnation ; pointing out that the Proposal itself tells me nothing, and that to give my voice upon the matter involved in a state of such ignorance would on my part be profanation.

Although sorrow for Oxford and the Church is even at this moment the strongest feeling in my breast, yet indignation at this proposal to treat Mr. Newman worse than a dog really makes me mistrust my judgement, as I suppose one should always do when any proposal seeming to present an aspect of incredible wickedness is advanced.

But I feel most strongly that this is a season in which there is *no* effort that ought not to be made : and in writing as I have done I have

assumed a character most offensive to me and most unwholesome, only to avert, or rather to contribute by God's help a ten-thousandth part towards averting, greater evils.

I hope that if necessary there will be a *veto*: for the sake of the Church, and of the character of Oxford. Its effects on the Tract 90 may be many-sided: but it is upon the whole for every interest that the first principles of morality and justice should be observed.

And after all, looking back on the countless mercies we have received, I am hopeful of the issue: and should be even more so but for *that* which the Heads of Houses do not know.

Most sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Dr. Hook, although, in the event, he voted against the condemnation of Ward's book, as well as against his degradation, was at first so afraid of countenancing Romanism if he voted with Pusey, that he decided not to vote at all. He added:—

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Feb. 6, 1845.

I do honestly confess that the publication of Romish Methodism by yourself and your eulogy of the founder of the Jesuits¹ had some influence upon my mind, and makes me pause as a strong, decided, vehement Anti-Romanist. These publications and the legendary Lives of the Saints² will have the same effect in England as the fanatical movement in France; they will make men decided infidels. Infidelity and Romanism will always go hand in hand; except where, as in England, Romanists act with caution and take the philosophical line, such as is taken by Wiseman.

If a wise, decided, cautious address be got up to the Heads of Houses, calling upon them to propose the degradation of Dr. Whately, and showing the points of heresy in his works, I shall be most willing to sign it—not, of course, till I see what it is.

My present intention is not to vote. I should have voted against the test.

Hook wrote with an impetuosity which was at once the charm and the danger of his character; but Pusey took every man's language literally, and felt it necessary to

¹ Pref. to Surin's 'Foundations of the Spiritual Life,' xix, xxii, note. These references, however, do not amount to a eulogy.

² 'Lives of the English Saints.' Pusey regretted this publication,

especially after the appearance of the life of St. Stephen Harding. He and Mr. Gladstone are referred to as 'men of great weight' in 'Apologia,' p. 339.

discuss Hook's criticisms in a characteristic letter, which concludes as follows :—

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK. Feb. 7, 1845.

To me, the condemnation of Newman when he has retired successively from every means of influence, Tracts, *British Critic*, St. Mary's, intercourse with young men, residence, sermons, Lives of the Saints, and has won more souls to Christ than any besides, is beyond measure dreadful. I should expect some dreadful chastisement to follow. 'They entreated him shamefully and beat him, and sent him away empty.' He has been, to an amazing extent, God's messenger to us for the good of souls, and now men would cast him out.

Notwithstanding the widespread anxiety respecting Newman's future, the attempt of the Hebdomadal Board to utilize the odium against Ward for the purpose of condemning Tract 90 provoked warm indignation among moderate men, who had no sympathy with Ward, and no enthusiasm, to say the least, for the tract in question.

VEN. ARCHDEACON CHURTON TO E. B. P.

Crayke, Feb. 5, 1845.

Let us hope that now the worst seems come we shall soon see better days. The attempt to overwhelm Newman with Ward, Achilles with Thersites junior, will bring up every vote that can be mustered.

My good friend John Miller and I have been corresponding a good deal about a Protest we are concocting against [the] Hebdomadal Board—which must be 'put down' as a public nuisance. Where could we have a meeting after Convocation to draw up resolutions condemnatory? Query, in Exeter or B.N.C. Hall?

As the day approached it became known that the Heads of Houses would not, in any circumstances, have things their own way. The Proctors for the year, Mr. Guillemard of Trinity and Mr. R. W. Church of Oriel, had decided to exercise their statutable right of forbidding proceedings in Convocation which they judged inexpedient for the University. They were urged to do this by others than the friends of Newman and Pusey.

REV. W. K. HAMILTON TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR SIR,

Close, Salisbury, Feb. 8, 1845.

In a very nice letter I received this morning from Stanley of University, he tells me the Proctors intend to veto the proposal about

Newman. This is a very great relief to me, as it is quite impossible for me to get away on Thursday. I am very sorry not to vote against Ward's degradation, but my feeling about the other measure is necessarily a much stronger one. Was it necessary that Convocation should be called together in Ember week? if not, it is really shocking that when love for our Church is the plea for its assembling, one of her most solemn seasons should be profaned, as it must be on Wednesday next, by much feasting, and on Thursday by much excitement of strong if not bitter feeling.

I have done all I can here; and I hope all who go up will vote with you.

If it is generally known that the Proctors intend to veto the proposal about Newman many will stay, I should think, away.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours gratefully attached,

W. K. HAMILTON.

It will be gathered from this letter that the Rev. A. P. Stanley and other younger members of the Liberal party in Theology were exerting themselves to defeat the proposals of the Heads of Houses. A fly-leaf, which bears marks of Stanley's hand, insisted on a supposed analogy between the proceedings against Dr. Hampden and those of which Mr. Ward was the object: 'the wheel of time had come round,' 'the victors of 1836 were the victims of 1845.' The object of the paper was to condemn the proceedings against Hampden, and to induce Liberals to vote for Mr. Ward.

Whatever may be said against the proceedings in condemnation of Dr. Hampden, it would be superfluous at this distance of time to point the many obvious ways in which the analogy between the two cases advanced by Mr. Stanley broke down. While, however, the younger Liberals had many motives for assisting the Tractarians on this occasion, as a matter of fact it was not they who saved the Tractarians from disaster, as in after-times Dean Stanley so often boasted. 'The Liberals of his school,' as Dean Church says, 'were still a little flock . . . too young and too few to hold the balance in such a contest. The Tractarians were saved by what they were, and what they had done and could do themselves¹.' If this

¹ Church's 'Oxford Movement,' p. 340.

statement requires further proof, an analysis of the signatures to the vote of thanks to the Proctors for their action on February 15th (to be mentioned directly) would give ample evidence.

But if the opposition of the young Liberals to the proceedings against Mr. Ward was not very weighty and not altogether disinterested, it was much more creditable to Liberal principles than the course taken by the older representatives of Liberalism. The Provost of Oriel had been for many years a Liberal in Church matters. He was the friend of Copleston, Whately, Bunsen, and Arnold. He had supported the attempt to abolish subscription at matriculation : he had been the great defender of the Liberalism of Hampden. He was now acting with sincere ultra-Protestants like Dr. Symons, who were in no sense Liberals; but he himself had not at all abandoned the latitudinarian eclecticism which his older friends were anxious to fit on somehow to the system of the Church of England. Yet his fear of a stronger religious faith than his own now led him not merely to assent to, but to be the principal author of measures compared with which the action taken against Hampden was a civil expression of disapprobation.

The scene on the 13th of February has been so graphically described both in Dean Church's 'Oxford Movement' and in the Life of Mr. W. G. Ward, that it is unnecessary to enter much into detail here. The Sheldonian Theatre was crowded with Masters, no one but voters being admitted. When the Registrar had read the selected passages from the 'Ideal' on the score of which the condemnation of the book was to be pronounced, Ward made his defence. The book was condemned by a majority of 391 votes; the degradation of Mr. Ward was affirmed by a majority of 58 only. The tide of victory seemed, however, to be still flowing strongly for the ultra-Protestant cause, when the proposal to condemn Tract 90 was brought forward. Then, to the unconcealed disgust¹ of the victorious party headed by the Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors rose in their

¹ Cox's 'Recollections of Oxford,' p. 345.

places to exercise the veto which statutely belonged to them. Never in the history of the University was the procuratorial 'non placet' more courageously or more wisely uttered.

An address to the Proctors thanking them for their conduct was signed by men of all parties in the University. Not only the friends of the Movement, but Mr. Stanley of University College and Mr. Jowett of Balliol appear among the signatories, which altogether amounted to some eight hundred¹. The address was presented to the Senior Proctor by the Rev. C. Marriott on March 1st.

The victory, however, on the whole lay with the assailants of the Movement; and as new Proctors would enter upon office after Easter they determined to renew their efforts to procure a condemnation of the Ninetieth Tract.

It will be remembered that on March 22, 1836, Mr. Bayley of Pembroke and Mr. Reynolds of Jesus College, the Proctors for the year, had vetoed the proposal that Dr. Hampden should be suspended from certain privileges and duties attaching to his professorship; and that, when they had gone out of office, the proposal which they vetoed was carried on May 5th in the same year by an overwhelming majority². It was hoped that a similar reversal of the procuratorial veto might be repeated. But any such expectation overlooked the difference between the cases. It was one thing for the Proctors to use their veto as an expression of little more than their own opinions; it was another to use it on behalf of a very large and influential minority³.

'The procuratorial veto,' so wrote a keen observer, 'has been treated in this case as if persons somehow or other felt that they had no real right to complain of it; as if there was an impression, whatever might be said in an ordinary party view against it, that the Proctors had, after all, a fair right to do what they did do⁴.'

But the address to the Hebdomadal Board in favour of

¹ Cox, p. 346. The printed list is 546, but many names were sent in after it was struck off.

² See vol. i. pp. 378, 385.

³ *Christian Remembrancer*, No. 48,

pp. 558, 561.

⁴ *Ibid.* The author of the remarkable article on 'Recent Proceedings at Oxford,' was the Rev. J. B. Mozley.

another attempt to procure a condemnation of Tract 90 received comparatively few signatures, and was treated with coldness in unexpected quarters.

Pusey on his part felt that if Newman was to be by any possibility saved from going to Rome, Tract 90 must not be condemned. The condemnation of Tract 90 would be interpreted by Newman as a last sign from Heaven; it would precipitate his secession. This motive led Pusey to suggest to Mr. Gladstone that he should ask the Archbishop of Canterbury to dissuade the Heads of Houses from any further measures. But Mr. Gladstone felt that matters had been further complicated by the action of one of Ward's friends. Immediately after the decision of Convocation on Feb. 13, Mr. Oakeley had written a public letter to the Vice-Chancellor, in which he claimed to hold (as distinct from teaching) all Roman doctrine; and four days later this was followed by another letter to the Bishop of London, in which he brought this clause formally under the notice of his Diocesan. Whatever is to be said of its theological tenableness, nothing could be more frank than Mr. Oakeley's attitude, nor more unequivocal than the terms in which he brought his theological position under the notice of authorities who could not but condemn it; but his action at this juncture greatly added to Pusey's difficulties, and lessened the prospects of that 'peace' which Pusey so earnestly desired.

Mr. Gladstone, as the following letter shows, was willing to do anything in his power to promote the cause of peace. But could Dr. Pusey answer for Mr. Ward or Mr. Oakeley? Had they not used, were they not likely to use again, language which was provocative and indefensible?

W. E. GLADSTONE, ESQ., TO E. B. P.

13 Carlton House Terrace, Feb. 17, 1845.

I concur with my whole heart and soul in the desire for repose: and I fully believe that the gift of an interval of reflection is that which would be of all gifts the most precious to us all, which would restore the faculty of deliberation now almost lost in storms, and would afford the best hope both of the development of the soundest elements that are in motion amongst us, and of the mitigation or absorption of those which are more dangerous.

Then as to my addressing the Archbishop. I have no right or reason to suppose that any representation from me would come to him with any special advantage. Still, it is impossible not to see from his late Pastoral, and still more from his Charge of last autumn, that no one more fervently ensues peace than our Primate; and if it were your desire that I should write to his Grace, I should readily do so, as my addressing him would be simply in the way of information, and would not be with the view of drawing him into communication with myself.

My opinion continues to be, that the subject of the Ninetieth Tract will most probably not be revived; but I by no means state this as a reason for doing nothing of the kind you indicate.

However, it occurs to me that the Archbishop's first thought might naturally be, that the hope of peace must depend on the pacific intentions and desires not of one side or body only, but of all; and that if you, on behalf of the assailed, take the initiative, it would be very fair to ask you what guarantees, or at all events what reasonable expectations, you can hold out that *they* will keep the peace. The signs of the last few days do not altogether give such a promise. For instance, even in his defensive speech, admirable as its tone was in all personal and in some other respects, Mr. Ward chose to carry his theology to a point beyond any which he had theretofore reached, and to propound an Ultramontane definition of Roman doctrine, viz. whatever is approved by the Pope.

It is true indeed, as I conceive, that Mr. Ward represents an individual, not a class; and it is difficult to make others responsible for his proceedings. But Mr. Oakeley is a man who appears generally desirous to manage his opinions, extreme as they are, with gentleness and consideration for the peace of the Church. Yet he has just published, as I perceive with great pain, a challenge to the academical authorities, founded on the votes against Mr. Ward; with respect to which I will only say, that I cannot conceive how it *could* be in place *until* the validity of those votes should have been established, either by the sentence of an appellate tribunal, or by a legal certainty that the proceedings of the Convocation cannot be brought under review elsewhere.

It is on this account that I have replied to you, instead of acting at once on your suggestion.

Pusey thanked Mr. Gladstone for his letter, but acknowledged that he could in no way answer for the action of Oakeley and Ward. But the prospect gradually brightened. On the following day Pusey wrote to Mr. Gladstone:—

‘There seems a general impression that the Heads are becoming more pacific; and that the renewed requisition against us will be a failure. . . . Your communications with the Board and your name have done us good service.’

A day or two later Mr. Gladstone acted on Pusey's suggestion that he should apply to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He reported the result in the following letter:—

W. E. GLADSTONE, ESQ., TO E. B. P.

13 Carlton House Terrace, Feb. 22, 1845.

I have had a kind note from the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he expresses his opinion that there will be no further proceedings at Oxford in respect to the 90th Tract.

I lose no time in making known to you the circumstance, as it may contribute to reassure your mind (on mine it leaves no doubt); but probably it would be well to keep back the Archbishop's name except from persons altogether in your confidence.

If there be no intention of reviving the matter, what a conclusive testimony does this afford that the interposition of the Proctors was no less wise and just than it was courageous.

Robert Phillimore is desirous to sign the thanks. I mention this in case his name should not have been otherwise transmitted.

Believe me, your sincerely attached

Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Thus this chapter of the history of the Movement had well-nigh closed. Mr. Ward was degraded, and the question of Tract 90 was not to be re-opened. But in order to complete this portion of our subject, it is necessary to follow for a while the fortunes of the Rev. F. Oakeley.

Mr. Oakeley, as will have been seen, had declared in his letter to the Vice-Chancellor that he held (though he did not claim to teach) all Roman doctrine, and had subsequently repeated this claim in a letter to the Bishop of London. Thereupon the Bishop requested Mr. Oakeley to resign his licence as minister of Margaret Chapel. In this the Bishop was acting at the suggestion of Dr. Chandler, the Dean of Chichester, within whose London parish Margaret Chapel was situated. Mr. Oakeley pleaded for delay, but offered to take no part in the church services until he gave a reply. Meanwhile he wrote very earnestly to Pusey, with a view to inducing Pusey, Keble, and others to withdraw their support from the Church Societies, and to induce others to do the same, unless the Bishop of London withdrew his request. Pusey and Keble both felt unable to comply with this suggestion; and the Bishop,

on his part, found the case to be full of unsuspected difficulties, and at last decided against withdrawing Mr. Oakeley's licence, but with the proviso that the circumstances might still be the subject of legal determination.

Pusey, however, had been obliged, in his correspondence with Oakeley, to express himself with regard to Oakeley's actions in terms which inevitably led to a certain estrangement, and a loosening of those personal ties which, in binding Oakeley to himself, bound him also to the Church of England. This was inevitable; but it did not prevent Pusey from doing what he could to help his friend even to the last. Mr. Oakeley's letter to the Bishop of London was made the basis of a suit in the Arches Court, which was opened on June 9. Mr. Oakeley himself did not appear, nor was he represented by counsel. On June 30 Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, the Dean of the Arches, revoked Mr. Oakeley's licence to officiate at Margaret Chapel or elsewhere in the diocese, and prohibited him from performing any ministerial office in the Province of Canterbury until he retracted his errors. The judge held that if any Roman doctrine was opposed to the doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles, Mr. Oakeley must, according to his own statements, hold it; and that such a position was inconsistent with his engagements as a minister of the Church of England.

This decision added to the unsettlement and distress of many minds. In order to relieve this, Pusey, besides preaching to the distressed congregation at Margaret Chapel on the day before the judgment¹, wrote at length on

¹ Cf. 'The Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost,' a sermon preached at Margaret Chapel on the feast of St. Peter, 1845. Oxford, 1845. This sermon has the following dedication:—

'To the Congregation
Of Margaret Chapel,
With whom he has often in common
worshipped,
To whom he has, from time to time,
with joy ministered,
And with them, in their devout services,
Found rest and joy,
This Sermon,

Preached by God's mercy, to remove
anxieties,

On a day of gladness,
And the eve of heavy sorrow,
Is inscribed,

With the affectionate prayer,
That the God of all comfort
Will, in our common sorrow, comfort
them,

And Himself, the Teacher and Guide
of all,

Replace the guidance and teaching
Of which in His inscrutable Providence
He has permitted them to be deprived.'

the subject to the *English Churchman*. He pointed out that Mr. Oakeley's case had been undefended : consequently it created no precedent. Had it been defended, some parts of the Judgment must have been modified. The judge had assumed that 'the Articles have one plain definite grammatical sense, and that whoever does not see this, simply strains them, because he has a repugnance to their meaning. Nothing,' Pusey added, 'can be less true.' But the judge had condemned Oakeley's claim to hold all Roman doctrine, and not all constructions of the Thirty-nine Articles which might differ from his own. Mr. Oakeley's case, then, did not really affect anybody except himself. That a decree of the Court of Arches was not a decision of the Church was clear from the fact that when a few years earlier this same court had decided in favour of the primitive practice of Prayers for the Dead, 'the Bishop of one of our first sees felt it to be his duty on the following Sunday to preach against it in the cathedral church of our metropolis.' Pusey deplored the inequitable onesidedness which tolerated anything in one direction and nothing in another. The rulers of the Church would do well to commit her to God, and 'let her drive' under His guidance ; to thrust her, by measures of peremptory repression, would mean a situation in which 'the fore part' might 'stick fast and remain immoveable,' while the 'hinder part' was broken by the violence of the waves. Pusey did not explain—there was no need for doing so—who were meant by the 'fore part' and who by the 'hinder part.'

The events of the next few months were to afford a tragical illustration of the last-named feature of the catastrophe thus described.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

RUMOURS AND ANXIETIES—AN APPEAL FROM PUSEY—
MANNING'S FEELING TOWARDS ROME—NEWMAN'S
SECESSION—PUSEY'S LETTER TO THE 'ENGLISH
CHURCHMAN'—KEBLE'S COMMENTS—REVIEW OF
PUSEY'S POSITION.

1844-1845.

SINCE his resignation of St. Mary's in September, 1843, Newman had lived in the 'monastery' at Littlemore, surrounded by a few most intimate friends, while the little church of St. Mary's, Littlemore, was served by the Rev. W. J. Copeland. Newman and his associates spent their time in attending the daily services in the church, in observing the Canonical Hours at home, and in an amount of literary work and anxious correspondence which left no margin of leisure. During the last year of his life in the Church of England, Newman was reading for or writing his 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine,' and his mind was so far detached from the Anglican position that his secession was at any moment at least possible. Pusey alone, hoping against hope, could not altogether resign himself to recognize what was plain to most; and, as we have seen, went on consulting him as if they still had, as much as ever before, practical interests, anxieties, and hopes in common.

With the keen desire that everything should be done likely to re-establish Newman, it was a great distress to him when, shortly after his return from Ilfracombe in September, 1844, Mr. Eden, the new Vicar of St. Mary's, showed him a letter from Copeland, in which the latter begged to be relieved of his charge at Littlemore. The strain of so difficult a situation might well be too great

for one so deeply attached to Newman, yet at the same time so loyal a son of the Church; but Pusey thought that, at such a crisis, considerations of a personal character only ought not to be entertained.

E. B. P. TO REV. W. J. COPELAND.

Christ Church, 15th Sunday after Trinity, 1844.

MY DEAR COPELAND,

Eden has just read to me a note of yours; as you speak so freely to me, I felt that he might, though he otherwise felt it to be confidential. Indeed, my dear friend, it must not be. You cannot estimate the value of your being there to N[ewman]. I dread everything, every loosening of every cord, and this is like sending him adrift, and parting with the last thing which holds him to L[ittlemore]. If there were any clear call of duty it would be otherwise; but now, for all our sakes, you must stay. Nobody can estimate the use he is in God's hands where he is. He has set you down there, as me, I trust, here. We must all have many heavy thoughts; we are under a very heavy cloud; still God may be nearer to us for all that; only let us stay where we are, and we shall see the salvation of the Lord by-and-by. I would have called this evening, but I say things so badly. One's heart is half-broken, and all these moves are like shaking a broken limb. So pray, you must stay on.

God bless and comfort you.

Your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Copeland obeyed Pusey and remained. But another anxiety followed. Mr. A. J. Christie, Fellow of Oriel College, had intended to take Holy Orders at the end of 1844. He had been a pupil of Pusey, and Pusey was greatly attached to him, not merely on account of his marked ability, but for higher reasons which a singularly elevated and attractive character could not but suggest. Mr. Christie had apparently, after the fashion of perplexed young men of that time, been asking advice in very various quarters, and had at last become much perplexed as to whether he should be ordained at all.

'I did not tell him,' wrote Newman to Pusey on Oct. 12, 'what I think, that if he goes into our orders, he will one day be sorry for it. But why I think this is a matter of impression, and I cannot give grounds. I certainly do not think he can possibly sign our Articles, but he thinks he can. He goes with Ward; I cannot.'

Pusey's love and reverence for Newman—his inability to think that any real divergence of conviction was possible—prevented him from seeing that they were really looking at the question from different points of view.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Saturday evening, Oct. 12, 1844.

What you say must decide me not to say anything to C[hristie], grievous as it is, in so great a degree to lose his direct services for our Church. I asked the Bishop, not without the secret anxiety one has about everything, but still with the faith that all would come right. However, now he has, of his own mind, resigned it (though it costs him a good deal, and more as the time of final decision approaches), I must not dissuade him against your 'impression,' who see so much further, that 'he would one day be sorry for it.'

So, I have done. But I wish you would think whether, this resigned, Medicine is the best line for him. If things go on well, and he is led on in the line which his publication of *S. Ambr. de Virg.* points to, he might, in a single state, do good service as a physician of the poor (perhaps in some such establishment as, by God's blessing, Holy Cross may become). Else Instruction seems more his line. He wishes to do anything you, or you and I, might think best for him. He seems to have no preference for Medicine, and he would have a great deal very revolting to go through. He would like you to say what you think best for him.

I have nothing more to say now, thank you.

Pusey was too uncomfortable to let the matter rest. Five days afterwards he wrote again to Newman.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Thursday night [Oct. 17, 1844].

Christie called upon me by appointment after I saw you, and his determination had given me such a pang yesterday that I could not help talking with him about it. I could not find from him, although I asked him plainly, any reason why he should not be ordained, nor that he went further than myself as far as appeared without going into the details of each doctrine.

Your strong expression staggered me, and I should not think myself fit to think one way when you think another; still, I should like to know more what you think best for Christie, in whom, as a pupil and on other grounds, I have so much interest. It seems so sad for such services to be lost, and hopes which he himself has had as long as he can recollect, and which, so one might hope, were drawings, to come to nothing.

If you are not coming soon into Oxford, I should like to walk out to talk with you.

It was inevitable that reports about Newman should be in circulation; the current gossip of Oxford, or rather of Puritan Oxford, is described by an authority on the subject, Mr. Golightly.

REV. C. P. GOLIGHTLY TO REV. W. S. BRICKNELL.

Oxford, Friday, Nov. 1, 1844.

MY DEAR BRICKNELL,

It is possible that you may have already heard from some other correspondent the reports prevailing here. It is all over the University that Newman, Ward, Oakeley, Lewis, and others are going over to Rome immediately. A great stir is taking place undoubtedly. It is reported to-day that Newman is already gone.

All this is uncertain. I have however ascertained one very important fact, that Newman has written to Isaac Williams to say that it is 'impossible for him to continue in so fallen a Church.' Williams has cut the party, and wishes Newman's intention to be known. He told this to Ley of B.N.C., a man of good character, and brother of a quondam Fellow of Trinity, a friend of Williams; and my informant has twice called on Ley, and for my satisfaction heard the statement from his own lips.

Thus much is quite certain; and, if you can spare the time, I should much like you to come in here on Monday, and dine and sleep at my house. The *Tablet*, which has a long and curious article upon the Puseyite Movement, intimates, 'on the authority of a forthcoming pamphlet,' that *Pusey has been brought up to the same point as Newman and Ward*. Should Pusey secede with them, my calculation is that thirty Masters of Arts, and in all perhaps 100 members of our Church, would turn Romanists by the end of the year.

Immediately upon the secession of the party I conceive that Newman and Wiseman would each publish an artful pamphlet to catch waverers, and that the latter in his will cull from the Bishops' Charges all the compliments that they have paid to the learning, ability, and piety of the party.

Believe me, yours most truly,

C. P. GOLIGHTLY.

I wish to consult you not only upon the general subject, but more particularly as to whether anything or what should be written to the papers at once.

Nov. 1, 1844.

P.S.—I thought perhaps they might be entering the Communion of Saints on All Saints' Day.

The reports about Newman found their way into the London papers on November 2, and they caused, as was inevitable, a widespread perplexity. Among the letters

which Pusey had to write with reference to this perplexity, the subjoined is remarkable. It contains an account of Newman's 'despondency,' as Pusey now conceived of it.

E. B. P. TO REV. PREBENDARY HENDERSON.

[Christ Church], Nov. 14, 1844.

MY DEAR HENDERSON,

You are quite right in thinking that N[ewman] has no feelings drawing him away from us : all his feelings and sympathies have been for our Church : he has toiled for it as no other has, constructed defences for it, and brought out her system, as no other could. What I fear is a deep and deepening despondency about her, whether, with all the evils so rife in her, the tolerance of heresy and the denial of truth, she is indeed part of God's Church. From time to time he seems encouraged by tokens of God's grace vouchsafed in her, but the tide sets the other way : he is very heavy-minded. He does feel sympathy very much, or the want of it : he has felt very much what has been said of late : he said the other day, 'I have a literal heartache.' But it is not this, I believe, which has been doing the mischief, but, what you say, the tolerance of heresy. He seems to me to have the keenest and most reverent perception of the offensiveness of heresy, that I ever witnessed. It is something quite of a different kind from anything that I ever saw elsewhere ; I know not how to convey the thought. It is a sort of reverent shrinking from it, as one might conceive in a very pure mind from something defiling. It seems even to affect his frame, as one might imagine 'a sword piercing,' a pain shooting through every part.

Of course I do not mean to blame our Bishops ; but in the habits in which we, and much more they, were brought up, the mind was directed to certain gross forms of heresy, such as the Socinian, and scarcely realized the others at all—thought of them as something abstract, not being brought in contact with them, or seeing their effects. Thus, in America, a Nestorian Bishop was actually recognized by some of our Bishops, and in England very unguarded language has been used about the heretical bodies in the East. We are so practical a people, that we can hardly see a thing to be wrong which we do not see working ill. Hence, people even who assent to the word *Θεοτόκος*, often cannot see any great harm in its denial, because they do not see its bearings. Then, too, we are so inured to our existing evils that we do not feel them acutely. We have been so accustomed to hear the Sacraments denied, that it hardly seems to strike our Bishops, when 500 clergy (I think) sign their denial of them. On the other hand, anything new does strike us. And thence the anomaly of great apprehension expressed, all along, as to what has been taught from this place, while glaring heresy passes unnoticed. Thus the Bishop of Gloucester leaves unnoticed Mr. Close and all

his profaneness, and his public denial of the word *θεοτοκος*, but renews what he had said three years ago about persons who, to say no more, are earnest about the Faith. I know he [Newman] felt this very much. Then as to myself, I know he looks on the silence of the Bishops as a confirmation of my condemnation, and a tacit giving up of the truth. I trust something boldly said of this would do good. I should have been most glad too if anything could have been said publicly about his great services to the Church.

But after all, our great resource must be prayer. Some of us proposed to ask any earnest persons we could to use some earnest prayers daily, with reference to the distractions of our Church and those distressed in her and about her. Tickell's loss, which is a very sore one, is ground enough for this. I thought of, as a groundwork, the use of the Lord's Prayer three times daily in honour of the Holy Trinity, either at once or at three 'Hours' with this special intention, with the *De Profundis*. The object is that the prayer being short should be earnest, concentrated, persevering. Individuals could add more. Copeland thought of the Collect for Whit-Sunday. Tell me what you think, and ask whom you can, asking them to ask others, laying a stress on the prayers being very earnest. We might obtain an army of prayer and then might hope.

God be with you ever.

Yours affectionately,

E. B. P.

How profoundly men's minds were moved by the reports that were abroad may be inferred from Dr. Hook's sub-joined letter to Pusey, a letter in which the writer's fervid and impetuous character betrays him into some expressions which his better judgment would have withheld.

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Leeds, Nov. 23, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am so very glad and thankful that Newman has been saved from this downfall: may he be still preserved from the fangs of Satan. Although I am quite convinced that the number of Romanizers is very small, yet there are several persons who would follow Newman, and I should myself fear that any person going from light to darkness would endanger his salvation. I should fear that it would be scarcely possible for any one who should apostatize from the only true Church of God in this country to the popish sect, to escape perdition: having yielded to Satan in one temptation he will go on sinking deeper and deeper into the bottomless pit. You will readily believe, therefore, that in your proposal to pray for these

poor persons now under the temptation of Satan, I shall cordially acquiesce.

For you and Newman I make very great allowance. You have been sorely persecuted: you have been unjustly used. If you are really, what we have always given you both the credit of being, holy men, you will be preserved from this awful downfall to which Satan is alluring you. All my letters concur in pitying both you and Newman, but they think that in his case, he has not had strength or grace to stand the fiery trial: he has been sorely tried: we thought that, like a saint, he would have triumphed over the temptation. It is now supposed that he is embittered against his own Church: and by his embittered spirit his eyes have been blinded so that he cannot see the soul-destroying errors of the Romish sect. It is predicted that there will be a falling away ere Antichrist comes. Romanism is preparing the way for infidelity, and I do believe that Christianity will at last be reduced to a very small number of persons, a compact body of holy men prepared to resist Antichrist, and to show when our Lord shall appear that there still *is* faith upon earth, although it has nearly disappeared. I look therefore not to any great re-union of the Catholic Body, but to the improvement of our own Church that it may be the Body prepared for our Lord's reception.

Yours most affectionately,

W. F. HOOK.

Pusey could not acquiesce in Hook's language about the Church of Rome. It is not necessary to admit her claims because we hesitate to describe her as Antichrist.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

[Ch. Ch., Nov. 24], 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am frightened at your calling Rome Antichrist, or a forerunner of it. I believe Antichrist will be infidel and arise out of what calls itself Protestantism, and that Rome and England will be united in one then to oppose it. Protestantism is infidel, or verging towards it, as a whole. I think the sects see further than you do, in that they class 'Popery' and what they call 'Puseyism' together, i.e. that the Churches and what submits to authority will be on the one side in the end, the sects and private judgement on the other. The ground seems clearing and people taking their sides for the last conflict, and we shall then see, I hope, that all which hold 'the deposit of the Faith' (the Creeds, as an authority without them) will be on one side, 'the Eastern, the Western, our own,' and those who lean to their own understanding, on the other. I wish you would not let yourself be drawn off by your fears of 'Popery.' While people are drawn off

to this, the enemy (heresy of all sorts, misbelief, unbelief) is taking possession of our citadel. Our real battle is with infidelity, and from this Satan is luring us off.

God bless you ever.

Your affectionate friend,

E. B. P.

The renewed agitation to procure a condemnation of Tract 90 was a matter of concern to Pusey, chiefly on account of the effect which, as he feared, it might have upon Newman. He therefore at once sent to Newman on hearing from Mr. Gladstone that the Archbishop of Canterbury thought there would be no further proceedings against the tract. Newman hastened to assure him that his own convictions were independent of the events of the day, whatever they might be.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, Feb. 25, 1845.

. . . Thank you for your kindness about Tract 90. Nothing that has happened has made me go one way or the other, from the first (near six years). If I have a clear certain view that the Church of England is in schism, gained from the Fathers and resting on facts we all admit, *as facts* (e. g. our separation from Rome), to rest on the events of the day is to put sight against faith. We *may* allowably go by events *when* we have no other guide. That events, as events, have a providential direction, who doubts? and that we should be deeply thankful for them—but we must not be blown about by our impressions of them. My dear Pusey, please do not disguise from yourself, that, as far as such outward matters go, I am as much gone over as if I *were already gone*. It is a matter of time only. I am waiting; if so be that if I am under a delusion, it may be revealed to me—though I am quite unworthy of it—but outward events have never been the *causes* of my actions, or in themselves touched my *feelings*. They have had a *confirmatory, aggravating* effect, often.

Ever yours very affectionately,

J. H. N.

Pusey still dreaded the possible effects of any apparent withdrawal of confidence from Newman. He continued to consult him about difficult cases of spiritual perplexity which were brought to him, and Newman replied as fully as in bygone years, though perhaps with somewhat more of hesitation and constraint. To one such reply Newman

added some lines which show how difficult it was becoming for the two friends to keep up their old relations of unre-served intimacy and confidence.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, Wednesday, March 12 [1845].

I have been thinking of you a good deal lately. Three Sundays I have been in Oxford, but have not had the heart to call on you. I would I knew how least to give you pain about what, I suppose, sooner or later must be. You see Meyrick considers he had three distinct warnings, and is full of horror at the thought of his having hazarded a neglect of them. One must make no other person's impressions a guide to oneself. I put it as an illustration (nor am I speaking prominently about myself) when I say, what I ought to say, yet shrink from saying, that I suppose Christmas cannot come again without a break-up—though to what extent or to whom I do not know. It is better to tell you this at this season, than to wait for a more joyful time.

All blessings be with you, my dear Pusey, prays

Your affectionate friend,

J. H. N.

Pusey was greatly distressed. He begged Newman to consider the unsettlement of convictions and the disunion among families which were caused by the apprehension of his leaving the English Church. He reminded him of his article on the Catholicity of the English Church in the *British Critic*. Why should Newman think the Roman claim so strong? Could he not see, as Pusey saw, a token of Christ's Presence with the English Church in the signs of growing life within her, and of the proofs afforded by the conduct and experience of her individual members of the grace and power of her Sacraments? Newman replied:—

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, March 14, 1845.

The unsettlement I am causing has been for a long while the one overpowering distress I have had. It is no wonder that through last autumn it made me quite ill. It is as keen as a sword in many ways, and at times has given me a literal heartache, which quite frightened me. But in proportion as my course becomes clearer, this thought in some respects becomes more bearable. The disunion of families indeed remains, and is enough to turn one's head: but

in proportion as one feels confident that a change is right, in the same proportion one wishes others to change too: and though it is anything but my wish that they should change *because* I do, of course it cannot pain me that they should take my change as a sort of warning, or call to consider where the Truth lies.

I wrote the article on the Catholicity of the English Church to which you refer (as I told you not so long after it, as we were walking back from St. Ebbe's one day, just as we were opposite Bulteel's Chapel) to satisfy my own mind. John Miller, I believe, saw at the time that it was written by an unsettled person. I never simply acquiesced in it. When doubts of our Catholicity came powerfully on me, I did all I could to throw them from me—and I think I never can be ashamed of doing my utmost, as I have done for years, to build up the English Church against hope. My doubts were occasioned by studying the Monophysite controversy—which, when mastered, threw light upon all those which preceded it, not the least on the Arian. I saw as clear as day (though I was well aware clear impressions need not at once be truths) that our Church was in the *position* towards Rome of the heretical and schismatical bodies towards the primitive Church. This was in the early summer of 1839; in the autumn Dr. Wiseman's article on the Donatists completed my unsettlement. Since that time I have tried, first by one means, then by another, to overcome my own convictions; three separate attempts I recollect,—my article on the Catholicity of the English Church—that on Private Judgement—and my Four Sermons. I have retreated and kept fighting. . . .

Where are we to stop? where am I to stop? what to believe? Each one has his own temptations. I thank God that He has shielded me morally from what intellectually might easily come on me—general scepticism. Why should I believe the most sacred and fundamental doctrines of our faith, if you cut off from me the ground of development? But if that ground is given me, I must go further. I cannot hold precisely what the English Church holds and nothing more. I must go forward or backward, *else* I sink into a dead scepticism, a heartless *acedia*, into which too many in Oxford, I fear, are sinking. You cannot take them a certain way in a line, and then, without assignable reason, stop them. If they find a bar put on them, a prohibition, from within or without, they come to think the whole matter a dream, a sham, and fall back to an ordinary life.

I have said all this because you have asked me, with a double anxiety; on the one hand the distress of paining you, on the other the feeling that I am not at all doing justice to my own convictions and the ground of them.

As to the signs of growing life in the English Church, I think it most fair and right to dwell on them, when one has no clearer grounds—but I do not know how to doubt, the Fathers would have

said that we were not *the* Church and ought individually to join the Church—and if the *body* of the English Church is about to join the Church so much more reason have we to praise God. As to individuals, by joining the Church of Rome, *hindering* that greater event, *this* again is a good reason, if one has no clearer reason to go by than those of apparent expediency.

That our Lord may in His mercy give grace through our sacramental rites, as He does (we humbly and surely believe) in so many instances, proves nothing beyond the fact *that He does so in those instances*. Whether it is an ordinary or extraordinary grant is not proved thereby. Multitudes of people flocked to the holy robe of Trèves just now, and cures were wrought. Faith might thus be rewarded, even though the robe was not a genuine relic.

I suppose, even though a Church be schismatical, yet if it have the Apostolical Succession, and the true form of Consecration, Christ is present on its altars, and that He, Who is thus really present, should give of His presence to those who believe Him present, in spite of the obex, is not hard to believe, and is, I believe, allowed in the Church of Rome.

And now what have I to say, but to express a trust, that where so much is at stake, Divine Mercy would reveal to me unworthy clearly what is His will about me, and what is not.

Ever yours very affectionately,

J. H. N.

What you and others urge upon me, and what I feel myself, the *unsettlement* of mind I should cause, would, I suppose, make it a clear duty to state, as best I could, my reasons. As far as I see, I shall resign my Fellowship by November.

After this letter Pusey seems to have lost nearly his last hope of Newman's remaining in the Anglican Church.

E. B. P. TO REV. H. A. WOODGATE.

35 Grosvenor Square, Good Friday night,
[March 21], 1845.

MY DEAR WOODGATE,

I left Oxford upon a very distressing illness of one under my charge, and somehow I did not read your letter (which was forwarded to me here) until to-night. And now I fear my note will arrive to turn Easter joy into sorrow. It relates to our friend Newman. His despondency about our condition has been deepening since 1839; he has done all he could to keep himself where he is; but his convictions are too strong for him, and so now my only hope is that he may be an instrument to restore the Roman Church, since our own knows not how to employ him. His energy and gifts are wasted among us. But for us it is a very dreary prospect. Besides our personal loss, it is

a break-up, and I suppose such a rent as our Church has never had. Besides those already unsettled, hundreds will be carried from us, mistrusting themselves to stay when he goes. It is very dismal.

I do not speak publicly of it, lest it should hasten what is so very miserable, but I doubt very much whether next Advent he will be any longer with us.

God comfort you. It makes me almost indifferent to anything, as if things could not be better or worse. However, if one lives, one must do what we can to gather up the fragments that remain, and meanwhile pray for our poor Church.

To Keble Pusey wrote in similar terms.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

35 Grosvenor Square, Easter Friday,
[March 28], 1845.

I hear that he [Newman] is not at the Oriel election this year. I did not expect it. It looks like an approaching parting. I fear, whenever it is, the rent in our poor Church will be terrible; I cannot conceive where it will end, or how many we may not lose.

On April 17 Newman sent to Pusey a clergyman who was in difficulties 'about his safety in the English Church.' 'I said,' Newman added, 'I had rather not speak on the subject, and he wishes in consequence to talk to you.' Pusey, of course, welcomed him.

It was characteristic of the intensity of Pusey's belief in God's providential guidance and of his love for Newman, that he gradually brought himself to think of Newman's secession as determined, like a prophet's mission, by reasons peculiar to himself, and thus in no sense an example to be followed by others.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Christ Church, 5th Sunday after Easter, 1845.

I should like to know what you think could best be done by any in that terrible shock awaiting us. I am hoping that people may come to think that he has a special mission and call, and so that it may not be looked upon as an example to all who have learnt of him; but it will be, I fear, a most fearful rent, draining our Church of so much of her strength.

Ever your affectionate and grateful

E. B. P.

Again he writes to Keble:—

Ilfracombe, July 8, 1845.

People have been anxious that you should in some way do something to cheer and reassure people at such a time as this. They are so discouraged that it would seem as if some would join Rome out of mere hopelessness. They resign themselves as by a sort of fascination, as though it must be sooner or later, 'Why then not at once? and so the step would be taken, and all suspense at an end.' I have myself looked upon this of dear N[ewman] as a mysterious dispensation, as though (if it be indeed so) Almighty God was drawing him, as a chosen instrument, for some office in the Roman Church (although he himself goes, of course, not as a reformer, but as a simple act of faith), and so I thought that He might be pleased to give him convictions (if it be so) which He does not give to others. At least, I have come into this way of thinking, since I have realized to myself that it was likely to be thus. . . .

Manning and I, I found, have each been preaching in L[ondon]¹ just to show that we wished to go on as before, and did not despair. C. Marriott, I think, suggested to you some hopeful dedication of your little book of poetry² to the children of our Church, who are indeed so very full of hopefulness to us. But I hear this is not to be out for some months. Could you not give us something else: as those Sermons on the Catechism, which I liked so much, and found so good for my children? I think something of this sort, not going out of your way, but reassuring people, would do more good than anything besides. You have been so much nearer to Newman, as in the publication of the 'Remains,' Tract 90, &c., that reassurance about you would encourage people more than anything else. . . .

Ever your grateful and affectionate

E. B. P.

As the report of Newman's approaching secession spread among those who had followed and trusted him, Pusey's correspondence became more and more exacting; while at the same time his distress of mind revealed itself in an apparent indecision, which, when the event had actually taken place, entirely disappeared.

This indecision is visible in some phases of his correspondence with Dr. Hook, before the consecration of St. Saviour's, Leeds—a matter which will be dealt with in the succeeding chapter. But another person who was alive

¹ See 'Parochial Serm.' vol. ii. s. xvi, and 'Occasional Serm.' s. vii.

² The 'Lyra Innocentium.'

to it, and was especially anxious to correct it, was Archdeacon Manning, who had sent Pusey his recent Charge to the clergy of his archdeaconry.

E. B. P. TO ARCHDEACON MANNING.

July 29, 1845.

Thank you for your Charge. While it is in a cheering tone, is there quite love enough for the Roman Church? 'If one member suffer, &c.' . . . We are so far worse off than our neighbours, if we suffer both ways; [if we] cannot by the vitality of the Church retain many who are good, or turn bad into good. However you do put forth strongly that we are sick; and what you say of chastenings must do good. I only desiderate more love for Rome. When the battle with infidelity and rebellion comes, we must be on the same side.

Such gentleness towards Rome appeared to his correspondent to imply a dangerous inclination to admit her claims. The event has shown that this was a mistake. Strong convictions, like strong men, can always be considerate and generous. It was precisely because Pusey had no misgivings respecting the claims of the Church of England that he did not cherish the fierce feelings or use the fierce language towards Rome which more respectable divines than the Puritans have sometimes deemed a necessary feature of Anglican loyalty. Manning of course agreed that we owe duties of charity towards the Roman Church; but he was anxious to point out what they did not include as well as what they did.

ARCHDEACON MANNING TO E. B. P.

Livington, Aug. 8, 1845.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Let me endeavour to say to you what I feel about it.

1. We owe to the Church of Rome a pure Christian charity as to a member of the Catholic body: we owe the same also to the Churches of the East. I do not find you expressing the latter feeling, and that seems to me the cause why you are misunderstood to have not a charity to the whole Body of Christ, but a partial fondness and leaning to the Roman Church.

2. We owe to the Church of Rome a special kind of charity because there are in it things of which we dare not ourselves partake.

We are bound to use no language which can arrest the course

of spiritual and intellectual purification, which, I trust and believe, is advancing in parts, or in individuals of that Communion.

A Roman Catholic said some time ago of certain Oxford men, 'They are forging new chains for themselves and *rivetting ours*.'

This seems to me to be the effect of an undecided and weak tone, and to be highly wanting in charity.

3. We owe it in charity to the whole Church, and to the Roman inclusively, to do all we can to deepen and perfect the spiritual life of the English Church; for however many things we may learn of them, there are some, of God's great mercies, which they may learn of us.

Now one powerful obstruction to the very work in which you are spending yourself arises, I believe, out of the tone you have adopted towards the Church of Rome. Will you forgive me if I say that it seems to me to breathe not charity, but want of decision? The effect of this, as I have had opportunity of observing among the parochial clergy, is to make them withdraw in doubt and misgiving.

4. We owe, above all, the largest and tenderest charity to our own Church, and unless we do more than *express it*, I mean unless we *act* upon it, and are governed by it, I am led to doubt the reality of our more enlarged view of charity. Is it not like the philosophical benevolence which embraces nations and neglects kindred, and yearns after strangers while it slights the ties of home and blood?

Now what are the facts but these—

The Church of Rome for three hundred years has desired our extinction. It is now undermining us. Suppose your own brother to believe that he was divinely inspired to destroy you. The highest duties would bind you to decisive, firm, and circumspect precaution.

Now a tone of love such as you speak of seems to me to bind you also to speak plainly of the broad and glaring evils of the Roman system. Are you prepared to do this? If not, it seems to me that the most powerful warnings of charity forbid you to use a tone which cannot but lay asleep the consciences of many for whom by writing and publishing you make yourself responsible. . . .

Believe me, my dear friend,

Yours very affectionately,

H. E. MANNING.

But Pusey's attitude at this juncture created perplexity in still higher quarters. He had written much against Rome in the past: and, while avoiding denunciatory language, such as Newman had employed, had carefully pointed out contradictions between Roman and Primitive teaching and practice. Was not this a juncture at which he might, with great advantage to the Church of England, put forth something in this sense? So at least thought

Mr. B. Harrison, and, there can be little doubt, a more important person at Lambeth, who probably inspired Harrison's letter. The letter, however, was simply Harrison's, and as it contained no references to the wishes of the Archbishop, Pusey was able to answer it with the freedom which was natural in writing to a younger friend and pupil.

E. B. P. TO THE REV. B. HARRISON.

Christ Church, Sept., Ember Week, Tuesday,
[Sept, 16, 1845].

MY DEAR H.,

I hardly know what amount of pain it will give you, but I ought to say that I can only take the positive ground of love and duty to our own Church, as an instrument of God for man's salvation, in which He is present, and gives us the gifts of life, His Body and Blood, and all which is needful to salvation,—as descended from that Church which He planted here, to save souls. I cannot any more take the negative ground against Rome; I can only remain neutral. I have indeed for some time left off alleging grounds against Rome, and whether you think it right or wrong, I am sure it is of no use to persons who are really in any risk of leaving us.

I should say that their difficulty is twofold; the weight of Roman authority, as supported by miracles, by the high life of her saints, the tendency of prophecy both as to the visible unity of the Church, and the eminence of St. Peter (interpreted as it is, of old, of the see of Rome), their oneness in all great points of doctrine, the depth of their spiritual system, their greater zeal and success in missions, the superior devotion and instruction of the poor, their greater fervour, the greater love and devotion in their spiritual writings. On the other hand, are our numberless divisions, the plague of division following us everywhere, the direct and unrebuked denial of fundamental truths of the faith, the toleration of all heresy, while truth has been impugned by different authorities in the Church, and no one protested against it, our fraternizing with Protestants, the tone of our Articles, our proud contempt for everybody except ourselves, and the hatred of Rome so general among us. ('How can we,' they say, 'be part of the one Church, as you tell us, if instead of loving one another, we thus hate one another?') And I cannot deny that it is not a dislike of parts of the Roman system only.)—Again, there is the want of individual guidance, the infrequency of services and Communion, the continual denial of truths they hold by the very ministers who teach them, or by our Bishops, the difficulty of knowing what is truth; and now the actual neologism springing up even in Oxford.

Some of these things you too must feel to be real evils. And the most effectual way to relieve them I have found, in combination with our succession, is to point out how God has owned and is owning our

Church, His good Providence over her, His gifts in her, the life He is giving her. These encourage people and give them heart. And so I should say, any great movement in the right direction, as the Colonial Bishoprics, St. Augustine's, any decided token of life, cheers them. We are in danger, lest people drop off out of mere despondency.

It will be disappointing to you that I can do nothing to reassure people in the way you speak of. I am afraid lest I fight against God. From much reading of Roman books, I am so much impressed with the superiority of their teaching; and again, in some respects, I see things in Antiquity which I did not (especially I cannot deny some purifying system in the Intermediate State, nor the lawfulness of some Invocation of Saints), that I dare not speak against things. I can only remain in a state of abeyance, holding what I see and not denying what I do not see. I should say that wherein I have changed, it has been through Antiquity¹.

My practical line (if God continues me here) would be much as heretofore, to teach whatever Antiquity teaches as being herein in the line of our Church, and to try to promote practical holiness, leaving the result to God, and praying Him, with good Bishop Andrewes, to heal our divisions, &c.

In asking for prayers for 'unity,' I meant that we should ask of God to bring us into one mind, His Own, without presuming what that mind is. Let us all desire to be conformed to His, and surely we shall. If we wait until we are agreed wherein we ought to be at one, this is not to pray for it, until we know it. If people are convinced that they are wholly in the right and their opponents wholly in the wrong, then, if they formed definite thoughts of unity, it would be that others should be as they. Be it so, only let us pray for one another, and God will hear us in His way. If we pray not, we shall never be at one. 'God maketh men to be of one mind in one house.'

Ever yours affectionately,

E. B. P.

We should recollect that we are praying for Greek and Roman Ordinations, by the very force of the Collect, as well as our own.

But in answering other correspondents, it may be questioned whether Pusey's theory that Newman's case was so peculiar as to form no precedent for others was calculated to withhold any from following him. So strong, however, in Pusey's mind was this conviction that, even so late as July, 1845, he wrote to Newman for advice with regard to some people under his own charge, who were tempted to join the Church of Rome. Could an ordinary

¹ Compare Pusey's letter of Nov. 27, 1845, to the Bishop-elect of Oxford, 'Life of Bishop Wilberforce,' i. 305.

person expect to understand the historical question on which the Roman claims were rested? To what extent ought the fact of their having been brought under Pusey's spiritual guidance to weigh with them? 'What weight should be attached to the very remarkable gift of grace which they have received in our Church, and which has to myself seemed very amazing?' If Newman thought none of these grounds valid for deciding against considering the claims of the Church of Rome, what course would he recommend? '*Your case*,' Pusey added, 'if so it is to be, I look upon as a special dispensation. I suppose of course that, if it is so, Almighty God is pleased to draw you for some office which He has for you.' Newman could not admit Pusey's theory of the peculiarity of his case, and declined to answer his questions.

When Pusey's birthday came round, Newman wrote with his wonted affection, but with a certain reserve dictated by his own convictions:—

MY DEAR PUSEY,

Littlemore, August 22, 1845.

I do not like this day to pass without sending you a line to show my remembrance of it, though I have nothing else to say. May you have, as you will have, a succession of them, increasing, as the year comes round, in usefulness and all good, till you have finished God's work upon earth, as far as it is committed to you, and have no reason for remaining. He surely is working through you and others in His own way, and will bring out all things happily at last.

Believe me, ever yours, my dear Pusey,

Most affectionately,

J. H. N.

P.S.—St. John and Dalgairns both send their best and kindest remembrances of the day.

But the end of Newman's connexion with the English Church was close at hand. On Sept. 28 he had to announce to Pusey an event which was serious in itself, and more serious as a symptom of what would follow it.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

MY DEAREST PUSEY,

Littlemore, Sept. 28, 1845.

No time is the right time to tell what you will feel to be painful news; but I must not delay to tell you.

Dalgairns left us yesterday. His father and mother come into Oxford in a few days, and he thought it best that it should be over before he saw them. . . .

Ever yours affectionately,
J. H. N.

On October 3 Newman took a step which spoke for itself.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Oct. 3, 1845.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

I have written to the Provost to-day to resign my Fellowship. Anything may happen to me now any day.

Anyhow, believe me, my dear Pusey,

Yours most affectionately ever,
J. H. N.

What followed is a matter of history. On October 9, Father Dominic, the Passionist, was at Littlemore. The period of hesitation and suspense, within which Pusey had never quite ceased to hope, and certainly had never ceased to pray, was at an end. The dreaded event had come at last; Newman was lost to the English Church.

For some days it would seem neither Pusey nor Keble had the heart to write to one another. But Pusey poured out the thoughts that filled his mind in the subjoined letter which appeared in the *English Churchman* of October 16th. It was addressed, not, as has sometimes been supposed, to Keble, but to an ideal or imaginary friend, whom for the moment Pusey supposed himself to be taking into his confidence. A composition of this kind committed nobody else to sympathy with its statements; while it enabled the writer to make them with entire confidence and unreserve, and above all, to use Pusey's phrase, to avoid any appearance of the style and authority of a Bishop, while yet addressing a very large and deeply interested circle of readers. It is a letter which no man could have written who had any doubts about his own religious position;—the recent disaster had obliged him to act, and conscience left him no ground for question as to what that action should be.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Truly 'His way is in the sea, and His paths in the great waters, and His footsteps are not known.' At such moments it seems almost best to 'keep silence, yea even from good words.' It is an exceeding mystery that such confidence as he had once in our Church should have gone. Even amid our present sorrows it goes to the heart to look at that former self, and think how devotedly he worked for our Church; how he strove to build her up. It looks as if some good purpose for our Church had failed; that an instrument raised up for her had not been employed as God willed, and so is withdrawn. There is a jar somewhere. One cannot trust oneself to think, whether his keen sensitiveness to ill was not fitted for these troubled times. What, to such dulled minds as my own, seemed as a matter of course, as something of necessity to be gone through and endured, was to his, as you know, 'like the piercings of a sword.' You know how it seemed to pierce through his whole self. But this is with God. Our business is with ourselves. The first pang came to me years ago, when I had no other fear, but heard that he was prayed for by name in so many churches and religious houses on the continent. The fear was suggested to me, 'If they pray so earnestly for this object, that he may be won to be an instrument of God's glory among them, while among us there is so much indifference, and in part dislike, may it not be that their prayers may be heard, that God will give them whom they pray for,—we forfeit whom we desire not to retain?'

And now must they not think that their prayers, which they have offered so long,—at times I think night and day, or at the Holy Eucharist,—have been heard? And may not we have forfeited him because there was, comparatively, so little love and prayer? And so now, then, in this critical state of our Church, the most perilous crisis through which it has ever passed, must not our first lesson be increase of prayer?

I may now say that one set of those 'Prayers for unity and guidance into the truth,' circulated some years ago, came from him. Had they, or such prayers, been used more constantly, should we be as we are now?—Would all this confusion and distress have come upon us?

Yet, since God is with us still, He can bring us even through this loss. We ought not indeed to disguise the greatness of it. It is the intensest loss we could have had. They who have won him know his value. It may be a comfort to us that they do. In my deepest sorrow at the distant anticipation of our loss, I was told of the saying of one of their most eminent historians, who owned that they were entirely unequal to meet the evils with which they were beset, that nothing could meet them but some movement which should infuse new life into their Church, and that for this he looked to one man, and that one was N. I cannot say what a ray of comfort darted into my mind. It made me at once realize more, both that what I dreaded might be,

and its end. With us, he was laid aside. Engaged in great works, especially with that bulwark against heresy and misbelief, St. Athanasius, he was yet scarcely doing more for us than he would if he were not with us. Our Church has not known how to employ him. And, since this was so, it seemed as if a sharp sword were lying in its scabbard, or hung up in the sanctuary because there was no one to wield it. Here was one marked out as a great instrument of God, fitted through his whole training, of which, through a friendship of twenty-two years, I have seen at least some glimpses, to carry out some great design for the restoration of the Church; and now after he had begun that work among ourselves in retirement—his work taken out of his hands, and not directly acting upon our Church. I do not mean, of course, that he felt this, or that it influenced him. I speak of it only as a fact. He is gone unconscious (as all great instruments of God are) what he himself is. He has gone as a simple act of duty with no view for himself, placing himself entirely in God's hands. And such are they whom God employs. He seems then to me not so much gone from us, as transplanted into another part of the Vineyard, where the full energies of his powerful mind can be employed, which here they were not. And who knows what in the mysterious purposes of God's good Providence may be the effect of such a person among them? You too have felt that it is what is unholy on both sides which keeps us apart. It is not what is true in the Roman system, against which the strong feeling of ordinary religious persons among us is directed, but against what is unholy in her practice. It is not anything in our Church which keeps them from acknowledging us, but heresy existing more or less within us. As each, by God's grace, grows in holiness, each Church will recognize, more and more, the Presence of God's Holy Spirit in the other; and what now hinders the union of the Western Church will fall off. As the contest with unbelief increases, the Churches which have received and transmitted the substance of the Faith as deposited in our common Creeds must be on the same side with it. 'If one member suffer, the other members suffer with it,' and so in the increasing health of one, others too will benefit. It is not as we would have it, but God's will be done! He brings about His Own ends, as, in His Sovereign wisdom, He sees to be best. One can see great ends to be brought about by this present sorrow; and the more so, because he, the chosen instrument of them, sees them not for himself. It is perhaps the greatest event which has happened since the Communion of the Churches has been interrupted, that such an one, so formed in our Church, and the work of God's Spirit as dwelling within her, should be transplanted to theirs. If anything could open their eyes to what is good in us, or soften in us any wrong prejudices against them, it would be the presence of such an one, nurtured and grown to such ripeness in our Church, and now removed to theirs. If we have by our misdeeds (personal or other) 'sold our brother,' God, we may trust, willeth thereby to 'preserve life.'

It is, of course, a heavy thing to us who remain, heavy to us individually, in proportion as any of us may have reason to fear lest, by what has been amiss in oneself, one has contributed to bring down this heavy chastisement upon our Church. But while we go on humbled, and the humbler, surely neither need we be dejected. God's chastisements are in mercy too. You, too, will have seen, within these last few years, God's work with the souls in our Church. For myself, I am even now far more hopeful as to our Church than at any former period—far more, than when outwardly things seemed most prosperous. It would seem as if God, in His mercy, let us now see more of His inward workings, in order that in the tokens of His Presence with us, we may take courage. He has not forsaken us, Who, in fruits of holiness, in supernatural workings of His grace, in the deepening of devotion, in the awakening of consciences, in His own manifest acknowledgement of the 'power of the keys,' as vested in our Church, shows Himself more than ever present with us. These are not simply individual workings. They are too widespread, too manifold. It is not to immediate results that we ought to look, 'the times are in His hands'; but this one cannot doubt, that the good hand of our God, which has been over us in the manifold trials of the last three centuries, checking, withholding, guiding, chastening, leading, and now so wonderfully extending us, is with us still. It is not thus He ever purposed to leave a Church. Gifts of grace are His Own Blessed Presence. He does not vouchsafe His Presence in order to withdraw it. In nature, some strong rallying of life sometimes precedes its extinction. It is not so in grace—gifts of grace are His love, and 'whom He loveth, He loveth unto the end.' The growth of life in our Church has not been the mere stirring of individuals. If any one thing has impressed itself upon me during these last ten years, or (looking back into the orderings of His Providence) for a yet longer period, it has been that the work which He has been carrying on is not with individuals, but with the Church as a whole. The life has sprung up in our Church and through it. Thoughtful persons abroad have been amazed and impressed with this. It was not through their agency nor through their writings, but through God's Holy Spirit dwelling in our Church, vouchsafed through His ordinances, teaching us to value them more deeply, to seek them more habitually, to draw fresh life from them, that this life has sprung up, enlarged, deepened. And now, as you too know, that life shows itself in deeper forms, in more marked drawings of souls, in more diligent care to conform itself to its Divine Pattern, and to purify itself, by God's grace, from all which is displeasing to Him, than heretofore. Never was it so with any body whom He purposed to leave. And so, amid whatever mysterious dispensations of His Providence, we may safely commit ourselves and our work, in good hope, to Him Who hath loved us hitherto. He Who loved us amid negligence so as to give us the earnest desire to please Him, will surely not forsake us now He has given us that desire, and we, amid

whatever infirmities individually, or remaining defects as a body, do still more earnestly desire His glory.

May He ever comfort and strengthen you.

Ever your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Few men could have written thus unselfishly under the stress of a blow which involved great personal and far-reaching discredit with friends and superiors, and a keen mental distress and anxiety which threw all other consequences of the occurrence into the shade. Few men could have put from their thoughts so resolutely the human and worldly aspects of the occurrence, and have placed it simply in the light of God's will and the widest interests of His kingdom. Pusey knew full well what impetus would be given to the fierce prejudices against himself which were already entertained by the Puritan and the Latitudinarian, but he did not on that account shrink from tracing Newman's conversion to the prayers which had been offered for him in the Roman Church, or from speaking of that Church as 'another part of the vineyard' into which his friend has been 'transplanted.' On the other hand, he is as sanguine as ever, 'far more hopeful as to our Church than at any former period,' and this because 'the supernatural workings of God's grace' in it are not 'simply individual workings,'—efforts traceable in the lives of one or another of its members,—but so 'widespread' and 'manifold' as to show that it is in and through the body of the English Church that the Divine Spirit is making Himself felt. Such a letter, written at such a time, was an evidence that Pusey had never despaired of the Spiritual Republic. His faith in and love for the English Church never were stronger than at this moment of extreme discouragement.

This letter caused Keble to break the silence.

REV. J. KEBLE TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

Hursley Vicarage, Oct. 21, 1845.

I believe I have not written to you since the thunderbolt fell. But I consider that I have heard from you through the letter in the

English Churchman, and many thanks for the comfort it gave me in common with thousands more. Now again I have to thank Marriott for a great deal of relief which he has sent me to-day by his report of dear J. H. N. as not having proceeded at once as though he were taking up a hostile position, which somehow I had feared was the case, and which seemed to me a very miserable thing. But by Marriott's account his step hitherto has not been so very inconsistent with my theory of neutrality towards Rome being our natural position. . . .

Ever your very affectionate

J. K.

Newman had not yet published his 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine'; and rumour in Oxford and elsewhere was busy in manufacturing and propagating stories of what it would be like.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. KEBLE.

MY DEAR K.

Christ Church, Oct. 22, 1845.

The reports about N.'s book are anxious, but he loves us, and one has good faith about things. But he uses very decided language as to the Roman Church being 'the one only fold of the Redeemer,' and wishes and prays that others may follow him.

I have been ashamed to put myself so forward at such a crisis, when you were silent, yet since God had let me, unworthy, see some of His workings with people's souls, I thought I might comfort others with the comfort wherewith He (I hoped) had comforted me.

Yours most affectionately and gratefully,

E. B. P.

At the same time, Pusey was cheered by a visit from the Bishop of Oxford. The Bishop assured him of his full confidence, and of his sure persuasion that if 'only ten' were left, Pusey himself would certainly be one of them.

To those who did not know Pusey, his attitude towards Newman during the years 1844 and 1845 may have appeared unintelligible. Pusey's own unshaken and unshakeable faith in the English Church warranted him in taking what in any other less sure of his ground would have been liberties with his own position. He could not at first bring himself to think that Newman would ever desert a cause the claims of which

appeared to himself to be so entirely unassailable by controversy. When at last it was forced upon him that Newman would become a Roman Catholic, he endeavoured to reconcile his own unswerving love of and deference for Newman with his absolute faith in the Presence of Christ with the English Church, by the supposition that Newman was, at any rate for a time, the subject of a special call or dispensation, having for its object the promotion of some great blessing or improvement in the Roman Church; and therefore that his secession was no more entitled to general imitation than was the mission of the Prophet Jonah to Nineveh. He could not even bring himself to allow that Newman was doing wrong, though he held that it would have been wrong indeed in himself or any other member of the English Church to follow his example. Such a position is of course open to obvious criticisms; but the heart has a logic of its own, which is often, in point of courage and generosity, more than a match for that of the bare understanding. It was so in this case. Pusey accompanied his friend as far as his conscience would allow; even when he could no longer agree with him, he clung, as it were, to his hand, with unabated friendship which many mistook for agreement. When, however, Newman at last took the final step, Pusey drew back and parted from him, with deep sorrow of heart but with absolutely unimpaired convictions. He quietly resumed those general duties to the Church at large imposed on him by God's providence—duties which had now become far more burdensome by the loss of his dear friend and great associate.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ST. SAVIOUR'S, LEEDS — FIRST PROJECT OF A CHURCH FOR LEEDS — LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE — COSTLY GIFTS—ALTAR PLATE—ALARM AT SECESSIONS — OBJECTIONS RAISED BY HOOK AND THE BISHOP OF RIPON—CONSECRATION—SERMONS—AN ADDRESS TO THE BISHOP—PUSEY'S ANTI-ROMAN POSITION — RELATIONS TO NEWMAN—HIS UNCHANGING FAITH IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH — NEWMAN'S MATURE ESTIMATE OF PUSEY.

1845-1846.

PUSEY'S attitude with regard to Rome and the English Church at the time of Newman's secession has just been described. Personally he was in no way shaken. He did not share in the general dismay entertained by many earnest Churchmen. In spite of the anxiety and distress occasioned to himself by his friend's secession, he continued the more positive methods for strengthening and extending the hold of the Church upon the masses.

It has been seen with what munificent generosity he had contributed to the Bishop of London's scheme for building churches in East London. And in this he had been seconded by the devoted and self-sacrificing spirit of his wife. The same generosity and zeal for the spiritual welfare of men were now to go forth in another direction—in one of the great northern towns. In the same month in which Newman joined the Church of Rome, the church of St. Saviour's, Leeds, built entirely by Pusey's liberality, was consecrated.

While Mrs. Pusey was lying on what proved to be her deathbed in the early months of 1839, the discussion which

preceded the erection of the Martyrs' Memorial was in progress. Pusey, it will be remembered, had declined to identify himself with Mr. Golightly's scheme for paying monumental honour to three of the reformers ; but he was willing to contribute to a church which should commemorate the blessings 'which we owe to the Reformation.' When Pusey stated this to Hook, the latter discerned an opportunity which might be made the most of:—

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Vicarage, Leeds, April 3, 1839.

We do most sadly want churches here. For two or three thousand pounds we could build a handsome one. Now many of our friends (wherein I think them, I confess, to have been mistaken, since we ought to honour all who have suffered hardship for the Church) refused to subscribe to the Oxford Memorial. Ought they not to show that it was on *principle* only that they refused to give,—but that their money is ready for the building of a church? They might easily raise the sum wanted. I should say, let it be at least equal to the sum raised for the Memorial. Let them come to Leeds—a most needy place. Let the church be dedicated to St. Bede, or Paulinus, or to some of the worthies of our Northern Church. Let it be erected by contributors to the Oxford Tracts and their friends—or by any other title by which you would prefer to have yourselves called. . . .

Ever, my dear friend,

Most affectionately yours,

W. F. HOOK.

Mrs. Pusey's death, and the cares which followed it, delayed Pusey's answer to this appeal. But he did not forget it. We have seen that he looked upon his wife's death chiefly in the light of a chastisement for sins of his own ; Keble had had to warn him against excess of bitter self-reproach. From this date he regarded himself habitually as a penitent ; and the question was how to bring forth works meet for repentance. He determined to retrench personal and domestic expenses even more than heretofore, and to devote the money thus saved to the public purposes of the Church. He is himself the penitent referred to in the subjoined letter ; but there was no reason for saying this to his correspondent, and more than one against doing so.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

[Pusey], August 14, 1839.

I know a person who wishes in such degree as he may, if he lives, to make up a broken vow, in amount if not in act. It would amount to about £1,500. It would be a long time before it could be raised, as it must be raised probably out of income. Supposing it ever raised, would it build you an Oratorium, such as you wish? The only condition which the person wishes to annex is an inscription such as this — 'Ye who enter this holy place, pray for the sinner who built it,' to which I suppose there would be no objection. If you approve of it, as soon as any money comes in to him available for this purpose, it shall be paid to your account through me, and might gradually accumulate so as to raise somewhat above the £1,500, if he should live, or make a nucleus for building a chapel, if he should not.

Hook thanked him warmly for his 'offer of a church to be built by a friend.' He added:—

August 16, 1839.

I see no objection to the inscription, but you forget that the leave of the Bishop must be obtained for it. I will, however, mention it to our dear good Bishop, and of course he will not object. Who would? And so I may close with your offer. I should like, if it be true, to have it said that the church is built by writers of the Oxford Tracts,—or something to mark the school from which the good deed emanates.

Believe me, with the truest affection,

Your friend,

W. F. HOOK.

The Bishop consented to the inscription, provided the parties were living for whom the prayers were required. Pusey wished to leave matters in Hook's hands.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

Christ Church, Dec. 2, 1839.

My poor friend did not mean to make any 'demands' or conditions as to church-building. All he really wants is the inscription, and, having obtained that, he will gladly leave the rest to you. What I said was suggested by what you wrote some time since, in which you proposed that some of us should build an oratory at Leeds, after the plan at Littlemore.

The reason for suggesting Holy Cross as the dedication of the new church was that Holy Cross Day (Sept. 14th) was 'a great day for' Pusey. On that day he had been made a member of Christ by baptism; and he observed it, as the Prayer-book Calendar suggested, as a festival of

the Redemption, in its relation to himself, throughout the last forty-nine years of his life.

The destruction of convents in Spain in the spring of 1840 led Pusey to think that it would be 'an act of piety to gather up some of the fragments, and replace them in a church in this country.' 'I hear,' he wrote to Hook, 'of a church which cost £30,000 to be sold for £3,000.' A fortnight afterwards this idea took a more concrete form:—

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

Christ Church, June 5, 1840.

I have an opportunity of buying a church for my friend in Portugal near the coast. It is offered for £3,000, but the expenses of removal will I suppose be very heavy, though it is hoped that the duties might be remitted.

Now what would be the expenses of bringing the materials from the coast to Leeds? I see you are on a navigable river, but the expense might still be so great that it might be unadvisable to bring it there, or at least more than the ornamental work.

I do not yet know the size of the church; it is a conventual church, and if not bought would be desecrated; but after all, it may not answer the purpose, or may be sold already, but I thought it right to ask these preliminaries.

Ever your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Hook replied that nothing could be easier than water-carriage by the river Aire to Leeds. But he was willing to release Pusey's 'friend' from his promise, if he thought he could carry out his purpose better elsewhere than at Leeds. But Pusey preferred to build a church at Leeds. If his 'friend' could succeed in buying the Portuguese church it would be more beautiful than any of English make at the same cost. In a later letter Pusey adds:—

'July 17, 1840.

'I have no objection to its being known (which you suggested might be of use) that I am the instrument of the church being thus built at Leeds, but I should wish particularly that the degree of interest which I take in the matter should be kept as quiet as may be, lest it should be fixed upon me. How pertinaciously e. g. has the £5,000 given to the London churches been fixed upon Keble, although he has denied it again and again!'

By the close of 1840 the site of the new church had been

purchased, and it was arranged that Pusey should preach at the laying of the first stone or at the consecration. In 1841 Pusey and Hook had gone so far as to discuss and endeavour to select a curate for the church.

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Vicarage, Leeds, Feb. 23, 1841.

I wish you clearly to understand what I desire with respect to your church. You will pardon me if, to express my wish concisely, I use an offensive (because made a party) term, but I wish for a fair living representative of the Oxford Tract system; one who will not offend people by adopting some minor but offensive (unjustly) points in the first instance, while all the greater things are neglected; one who will not *talk* of the celibacy of the clergy, and then marry: who will not *talk* of fasting, and never fast: &c., &c., but who will be a living example of what he preaches, and will proceed from right principles to right practices, preserving a consistency in all his ecclesiastical arrangements. Send in short such as you approve of. I want consistency in him, an agreement, as far as may be, between what he says and what he does; one who may be an example to me as well as to others; who may be to me what the hermits were to St. Chrysostom. Now I do not mean to say that I want every clergyman to be thus. We have all our different callings; some are called to mix more with men than others. Then those who have families cannot do all that they ought to do in self-denial. You know not, my dear Pusey, how perplexed, how miserable I sometimes am, from not knowing how to act, pulled on one side by the claims of my family, on the other by the claims of the parish. In your prayers for unity, sometimes remember your poor friend. . . .

I am, my dear friend,

Most affectionately yours,

W. F. HOOK.

At the same time arose the question how the new church was to be endowed, and to what amount. Pusey writes about this just before the troubles concerning Tract 90:—

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

Christ Church, Feb. 22, 1841.

I am suspicious about endowments: we want more than all we can get for the present, and cannot afford to provide for posterity. We must shift as we can, and trust that when by God's mercy we have weathered the present storm, He may give the peaceful days of Solomon, when His house shall be built in beauty and glory and solidity. I would not hinder others; but if I had an estate of £20,000 at my command, these seem days in which we should rather sell lands and houses and lay the price at the Apostles' feet, than endow churches

with them. The Church is in greater present need than she was then. . . . I should be glad to get rid of pews and pew-rents, and have the offertory substituted. The Church might employ a voluntary system, though Dissenters cannot; she wants it in aid, only not as a substitute for endowments. . . .

The vision of an imported church from Portugal having disappeared, Pusey set himself to consider how a new church might be built in England by 'his poor friend,' whom he now speaks of as 'Z':—

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

Christ Church, Feb. 27, 1841.

How large should Z's church be? He wishes to have no galleries; his notion was, if he cannot get anything from abroad, to begin on a plan which might admit of embellishment subsequently: if he lives long enough, he would gladly spend £6,000 on it.

Ever your very affectionate

E. B. P.

In June, Pusey sent Hook the plans 'for Z's church.' He proposed at first to spend £3,000 on solid stone-work, only so much being carved as to avoid unsightliness. He wished to know whether a site could be secured near the church for what might ultimately be a 'clerical college.' This Dr. Hook was able to do: he had already purchased the land on which a church might be built. This land was situated in a part of Leeds which, until Dr. Hook's appointment to the Vicarage, was untouched by the ministrations of the Church. Soon after that event the Rev. J. W. Clarke and the Rev. G. Elmhirst, as curates of Dr. Hook, began work in this district. Mr. Elmhirst must have been no common man. To great earnestness he united cheerfulness, simplicity, and excessive self-denial. He utterly sacrificed his health to the souls and bodies of his poor neighbours; he left Leeds with a broken constitution in 1841, and died, not long after, in Italy.

It was at the instance of this devoted man that Dr. Hook, assisted by other Churchmen in Leeds, purchased the site on which the new church was built. He bought it originally with a view to building a school; and he built a very good one. But in order to acquire the site for the school he

had to purchase a much larger piece of ground, of which a part was consecrated as a cemetery for the use of the poor in that part of Leeds, while the remainder was offered to Pusey, at Dr. Hook's instance, by the school trustees, as a site for the proposed church. This site had been known as St. Peter's Bank, having been formed, at least in part, out of the refuse of a coal-mine. The position was commanding, but the ground was far from good; after the foundation-stone had been laid it was discovered that the shaft of the disused pit took a direction which made an outlay of £1,000 necessary in order to make good the foundation.

The district in which the church was to be placed contained, at the date in question, something less than 6,000 persons. But the population was rapidly increasing, and was with rare exceptions poor; the well-to-do tradesmen lived in other parts of Leeds. Narrow streets, with low houses, were inhabited by mill-labourers and mechanics; and among or around these ran a branch of the river Aire, whose 'waters were brown and thick with mud, and dye-grease, and drains.' The physical discomfort was outdone by the moral degradation; every form of the foulest vice flourished, as was natural, in rank luxuriance¹. The moral, as well as the mental atmosphere, was heathen, without the restraining forces which occasionally made heathenism respectable.

In July, 1841, tenders for the new church were sent in, and preparations were made for laying the foundation-stone on September 14, 1842. Pusey was to have been present on the occasion, and to have preached in the parish church; but the controversies about Tract 90 and the Poetry Professorship had not been without their effect on the lower middle-class Protestantism of Leeds. The Vicar of Leeds had hitherto identified himself unreservedly with the Oxford School, and he was watched by a numerically powerful party with anger and suspicion.

¹ See the striking letter of the Rev. J. Slatter in Pollen's 'Five Years at St. Saviour's, Leeds,' pp. 16-21.

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Vicarage, Leeds, Jan. 31, 1842.

With respect to the laying of the first stone of the projected church, I think that the best thing will be to have it done very quietly by myself, without attracting the notice of the public to it, as would be the case were you to come. Under the present excited feelings every stone which would be laid would be regarded as laid with a Popish intent: and we should have remonstrances addressed to the Bishop, who would be sure to attend to them, and the edifice would be so altered as to be more like a meeting-house than a church. You have no idea of the exasperated feeling of the Low Church people here: many of those who were coming round have gone back—violently so. . . . It is known that the town is to be inundated with tracts, and to be made so hot that in six months the Low Church people think I shall be forced to resign. . . .

On the whole, I repeat it that the stone of the church had better be laid without any greater ceremony than a few prayers offered by me; and you had better preach the consecration sermon.

I am, your truly affectionate friend,

W. F. HOOK.

Pusey, of course, agreed to keep out of the way; and the foundation-stone of the new church was laid without attracting any particular attention.

Mr. Derick had been selected to be the architect of the new church. In August, 1842, Pusey wrote to Hook as follows:—

[August, 1842.]

Mr. D[erick] tells me that it is usual to put an inscription in a bottle with a text of Scripture under the first stone of a church. In case then you have not prepared anything, I have written the facts and selected a text and some prayers, which I suppose might readily be engraven. . . .

Z likes the inscription; it expresses his feelings: so I hope you will bring it all in. . . .

Your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

The subjoined inscription was engraved on the stone:—

‘ This First Stone
of Holy Cross Church,
In the Parish of Leeds, and County of York,
was laid
Under the Altar,
In the name of *Penitent*,
To the Praise of his Redeemer,
On Holy Cross Day,
A. D. 1842.

God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.

O Saviour of the world, Who by Thy Cross and Precious Blood hast redeemed us, save us and help us ;

We humbly beseech Thee, O Lord.

By Thine Agony and Bloody Sweat,	} Good Lord, deliver us.
By Thy Cross and Passion,	
In the Hour of Death,	
In the Day of Judgement,	

Lord, remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.'

Pusey was much pleased by the account of what had taken place at laying the first stone of the new church. 'Everything,' he wrote, 'was managed beautifully.' Even Oakeley had been interested. Pusey dwelt on 'the wisdom and piety of engaging people's affections and turning them in the right channel on such occasions.'

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Christ Church, Sept. 27, 1842.

The service is indeed very beautiful. Z was much affected by it and your account of the day, as also by the poor man's wish to contribute towards a monument to him. He wishes you, if you think right, to thank him, and tell him that the Church, if he be permitted to finish it, must be his monument ; he wishes to be a penitent and would have no other (indeed, feels himself very unworthy of this, which is of all the greatest), but would ask him for his prayers.

I have been thinking how such gifts as the organ might be accepted without Z's seeming to claim more than he may be permitted to do, in that he calls himself the founder : and Littlemore furnishes a hint. They have there, within the rails of the Altar, a tablet with the names of those who contributed to the building, and over them the text, Neh. xiii. 14—'Remember me, O my God, concerning this, and wipe not out my good deeds which I have done for the house of my God and the offices thereof' (I am not sure whether in full). There is a blank wall in the chancel of Holy Cross Church necessarily, in which I thought, instead of a niche, there might be a tablet with a canopy where the names of benefactors might in like way be inserted. This would find vent for any feeling like the poor man's : and as Z probably will never be able to build tower and spire, perhaps some one will be found hereafter to add the tower, another the spire. In the present state of destitution, one should not like to have a subscription for this. Handsome embellishments, such as the tower and spire ought to be, should be done in a noble way.

My heart turns much towards Leeds. I have been very thankful

that HE seems to be calling you on to some higher way of self-sacrifice. If I may venture so to say, what I have missed in your system and that of others who would be classed with you (e.g. Jelf, Churton, Palmer, Gresley), is the element of austerity, severity. . . . I should say, it seems to me to run throughout the writings of this class: there is a tone of easiness and satisfaction with all things, and an inaptitude to see what is amiss. Of course, this is one element of the true character; yet only one. We should love, and be thankful for, and hope well of our Church; and yet be conscious of her deficiencies, as good Bishop Andrewes was, and as Daniel 'confessed his own sins and the sins of his people.' I suppose the general neglect of fasting, until of late, has fostered this want of severity: but Catholic truth will never strike deep root in our Church without it. It is what we still most want: we have abundance of right-minded, earnest clergy (God be praised), but we seem to have few above the average character, persons to cope with extraordinary difficulties, such as those of our days are. Things are taken far too easily. And therefore I felt the more thankful (and the more for the love I must have to you) that as God has these many years, and before us, made you a witness to one portion of Catholic truth, so now He is leading you to that which will give completeness and consistency to your insight into that truth, and deepen the character which I so much value and love. This is the striking side of Manning's character, so wonderfully shown in his sermons, and so leading him into the unseen world; and one very impressive part of Newman's deep impressiveness. . . .

God bless you and yours.

Ever your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

The building of the church went on slowly. Z's money had to accumulate; and it may be remembered he had also been condemned by the Vice-Chancellor for a sermon at Oxford. Little therefore was done during 1843. In November, 1843, Pusey writes to say that the sum required by the contract was ready, and that he hopes the consecration will take place on Holy Cross Day, Sept. 14, 1844. Meanwhile Hook had begun to look forward to this occasion with considerable misgiving:—

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Leeds, Nov. 20, 1843.

As to the interest taken in Holy Cross Church, it is confined to the poor people in the neighbourhood—I mean a friendly interest. The exaggerations and falsehoods circulated about it in the North are extraordinary, and I really dread the consecration. I think we shall

require a troop of horse to keep order. The church will be filled with scoffing Methodists. . . .

Believe me to be, my ever dear friend,
Very affectionately yours,
W. F. HOOK.

As the new church rose from the ground, Pusey became greatly interested in its details. He had, however, no special knowledge of art, and was obliged to fall back upon men who had of late been making Christian art a special study. Mr. Upton Richards introduced him to Mr. Benjamin Webb, at that time an active member of the Cambridge Camden Society¹; and some of his correspondence with this accomplished man well illustrates his ideas upon questions of church furniture and arrangement. In selecting painted glass for the new church, he 'wished to go back to the austerity and simplicity of the older school of painting, yet with correctness of drawing and beauty of outline and countenance in which the ancient glass was defective.' A more pressing subject was the reredos. The feeling of the Camden Society was against giving the prominent position to the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, which had been customary in English churches since the Reformation. More room was wanted for such artistic treatment of the mysteries of Redemption as has since become general. Pusey's consideration for popular predilections in favour of the traditional arrangement, and his own conservatism of feeling on such subjects, are remarkable.

E. B. P. TO B. WEBB, ESQ.

Clifton, F. of Holy Innocents, 1843.

I should be very sorry to go against any decided feeling of those who are doing so much for Church architecture; yet I cannot but think that, however it may have been brought about that we have the Commandments, Creed, and our Lord's Prayer near the altar, there is much good in it. You will feel that in reviving what is old we are not to disregard the actual position of the Church. Needs may have arisen and have been providentially provided for, even by uncatholic means. I thought there was much deep thought and

¹ Latterly Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Vicar of St. Andrew's, Wells Street.

reverence in Williams' tract 'On the Providential Superintendence over our Liturgy,' and again Newman speaks very cheerfully, somewhere, of our Church taking up things uncatholic in their origin and moulding them into what is Catholic. Now, I suppose, many ways the use of the Ten Commandments is and has been of great benefit to our Church. In our absence of discipline or private confession they stand as a fence around the Holy Communion, warning people not to break in; then, they suggest a detailed Catholic self-examination, and detailed confession to God: they are a protest against any doctrine of justification by what people think to be their faith, or by feelings: they imply what we so much want—continued repentance. All thoughtful people also seem to have felt that what we have most need to be anxious about in this revival of our Church is lest this mighty stirring of men's minds be wasted through want of sternness with self, and that there is a danger in the very 'beauty of holiness' without its severity. I cannot but think that the Ten Commandments, with their strict warning voice, are far more valuable to us, as attendants on the altar, than images or pictures or tapestry would be. Since also they were placed in the Ark, I do not see why they should not now stand in a place of honour under canopies. They are God's words, and represent what His Hand traced: since then a canopy is a conventional mark of dignity, I do not think the ecclesiologist has ground for objecting to their being put under them.

I write this in self-defence, for I had been much impressed with the arrangement at Littlemore, in which, as perhaps you know, three [canopies] occupy the centre behind the altar, of which again the centre contains the cross: two on each side of the three centre [canopies] contain the Ten Commandments, &c. This tends to revive the mystical meaning of numbers, the three behind the altar, of which the centre only is occupied, being, I *know*, a *very* impressive symbol, and again combining with the four to form that which is the symbol of reconciliation between God and the world—seven. I had consequently asked Mr. Derick to design a redos of some richness (which, as well as the altar, was to be painted), the three richest canopies encompassing the altar. The cross again being specially suited to Holy Cross Church, I own I should be very unwilling to give up this, for I think it may still be a valuable characteristic of our Church: still, I should like to know what your feelings are about it. . . .

With every good wish,

Yours very faithfully,

E. B. PUSEY.

He held, with some tenacity, this opinion in favour of retaining the Commandments above the Altar. He begged his correspondent to consider

'whether there might not have been something providential in the

way in which, contrary to the tendency of current doctrine¹, and as a correction of its errors as well as the loss of discipline, the Ten Commandments had, by common consent, come to be over the altar; whether it might not have been so ordered because we needed it.' 'Certainly,' he adds, 'they are as they stand in that holy place, a continual witness to us. As different Churches have their different usages, so I thought this might have grown up, as of special value to us.'

In those days church building was so comparatively rare a thing that few details could be taken for granted. Pusey had to answer or decide questions which were not much in his way. What should be the material of the reredos—wood or stone? What was to be the place and size of the porch? What the position of the organ? How were the angels at the Ascension in the painted glass to be robed? What was to be the colour and pattern of the altar-cloth? What designs were to be adopted for needlework on the pulpit, faldstool, and credence (termed by Pusey 'prothesis')? These ecclesiological matters were not familiar ground to Pusey, and he is largely in the hands of his younger and better-informed correspondent. Now and then he gets out of artistic detail into questions of principle. Thus, with reference to the material and form of the altar:—

'I could not myself put up what should seem to be a mere table. When truth was not denied, tables were altars, as well as altars holy tables; now, they seem to me to involve at least a withdrawal of the truth; and if insisted upon, a denial of it. I dare not myself be any party to putting up a table; I would sooner have the consecration of a church suspended. I would spare any needless offence; but, if this be one, it seems to me unavoidable. But I hope with a few years it will much diminish, and every altar is a gain.'

With regard to the altar-cloth, it appears, there could only be one. 'As long,' wrote Pusey to Mr. Webb, 'as there is only one colour, I suppose violet best suits the state of our Church.'

Pugin had offered through Mr. Webb a design of the 'Holy Face' of our Lord in one of the windows.

'I like his design,' wrote Pusey, 'very much. The only thing about which any one can have doubts is the introduction of The Holy Face.

¹ He is referring to the Antinomian tendency of Luther's theory of justification, as popularly preached by the Low Church clergy.

I fear lest people will not contemplate it reverently as a symbol but only think of it as a legend. Else the words, "Is it nothing to you, &c." do bring out its meaning. There are two remaining in Cirencester Church.'

Pusey was himself accustomed to dwell much in devotion on the Human Face of our Lord¹. He continues:—

'I can hardly imagine a countenance more reverential, or on which the mind could dwell with more repose and comfort, than the Crucifixion by Albert Durer. As far as the expression of that Countenance could be transferred, I should be very sorry to see it replaced [in the new church] by any other. Again, for the Agony, one by a modern German artist (it is one of the frescoes in the chapel at Munich) is, for the Countenance, everything I could wish.'

The illness and death of Lucy Pusey brought about a further contribution to the gifts for the proposed church.

E. B. P. TO B. WEBB, ESQ.

Miss Rogers', Crescent, Clifton.

Wednesday in Easter Week [April 10], 1844.

The sudden illness of my eldest daughter, who is now sinking under consumption, has broken off my intercourse with Mr. Derick, but it gives me an occasion of applying to you sooner than I expected about the sacramental plate. She has a sum of perhaps £40 which had been given her, and this she wishes to give to something connected with the altar in Holy Cross Church. She has been nearly three years a communicant. There is also another sum, about the same amount, which might be similarly spent. These would perhaps purchase two cups set with some precious stones, if not very costly. Or you could tell me what their expense would be likely to be. I liked very much the pattern I saw at your house in L. Of precious stones, my dear child's preference is to the carbuncle, as the type of the fire of Divine Love, or emerald, or a dark blue.

You would know whether it would be best to use the same stone throughout, or the four chief Church colours, or again twelve precious stones. Her preference (for any single stone) is to the dark blue.

I think it is not unusual to insert in the form of a prayer some reference to the donor; as *Propitius esto Domine*—you would know what forms there are authority for. One of the two, from whom this sum comes, is departed, but it is a sort of offering in her lifetime. I should only put the Christian names. He to Whom the words are used knows the rest.

When the cups, or one, is executed, I should like to have them, or it, sent down here, that, if so be, she may see what she would offer, while yet here.

¹ The picture which was brought altar in the chapel of the Pusey House, Oxford, may have given a special Philip, and which now is over the direction to his thoughts.

When Pusey wrote this it seemed that all would soon be over. There was, however, a respite; and Lucy Pusey rallied sufficiently to take a keen interest in the proposed gift. Mr. Webb proposed five rubies, to Lucy's great satisfaction. She discussed with her father the inscriptions on the sacred vessels.

E. B. P. TO B. WEBB, ESQ.

For the paten she inclined to 'Panem Angelorum manducavit homo. Alleluia.' ('At all events,' she said, 'I should like one with Alleluia.') For the chalice, 'Calicem salutaris accipiam. Alleluia.'

For the commemorative inscription, do you think a Bishop would accept of vessels, inscribed 'Orate pro bono statu, &c.' unless (which one dare not anticipate) she should be still alive, when the church is consecrated. I thought some intermediate form which could be looked upon as the prayer of the individual, and which yet others might use as a prayer, would be safe from objection and yet attain the end. Any one who habitually prayed for the departed would repeat such a prayer. I mean a form as analogous to that of Nehemiah, 'Remember me, Lord, for good,' or in tombstones, where the prayer is directly from the deceased. Were there such a form as 'Propitius esto, Domine, Luciae Mariae quae—Deo et Eccl. S. Crucis, &c.,' a person reading it would involuntarily pray it.

My dear child likes the thought of the cross in jewels very much. She loved to see the cross everywhere.

Lucy Pusey died on April 22nd. Two days afterwards her father wrote to Mr. Webb:—

Clifton, Eve of St. Mark, 1844.

You will be kindly glad to hear that your great promptness in sending the sketch for the chalice and paten was an occasion of deep interest to my child on the last day of her earthly life. The subject being so very sacred, I could show it her even then; and she pointed with much pleasure to the jewels, especially to that in the cross, and looked with reverential interest on the Crucifixion. We settled too four of the female saints, St. Mary, her own St. Lucia, St. Catherine, St. Agnes (whose age she recollected even then). We had lately received the Holy Communion for the last time together, so that the inscription with the Alleluia has a special interest.

I thought you would like to know this, and seeing your note on her bed, which I had placed there to explain some things from it, she asked with interest about you.

There is now no immediate hurry, thinking that some who loved her would like to give perhaps a precious stone or two, in order to be thus united with her. One has given me a topaz and a small gold bracelet, which might be used for gilding.

Pusey thought that his friends might contribute jewels, which had been used as ornaments, to decorate the holy vessels which were thus connected with his daughter's memory. Of his wife's jewels scarcely any remained: she had sold them some years before her death for the London poor. An unmarried donor sent him at once 'a garnet necklace, earrings, and brooch, which,' he adds, 'she preferred to giving me an amethyst brooch, because they were the more sacred, having been given by one, now, she trusted in Paradise.' He then applied to his nearest relations. Mr. Pusey sent a gift of money: Lady Emily sent some rings in which were set diamonds and pearls. Their children, Edith and Clara, wrote, begging that they might contribute something to the memorial of their cousin.

Certainly Pusey pursued his quest in the most unpromising quarters. 'I conclude,' he wrote to Keble, 'you have no precious stones by you: only sometimes they come where one should not expect. Some of my friends who have them are giving them to me to enrich dear Lucy's chalice.' Keble must have been amused at this application. 'I fear,' he wrote simply, 'we have no jewels to offer.'

Eventually it was arranged that one chalice should be Lucy Pusey's memorial, adorned with jewels offered by her friends; while the other chalice and two patens should be the gift of Lucy, her brother, and sister.

As the consecration was intended soon to take place, it became necessary for Pusey to select an incumbent for the new church. In August, 1844, the Rev. R. Ward, M.A., Incumbent of Christ Church, Skipton, accepted the charge. He had for many years enjoyed the confidence of Dr. Hook. 'Tell Newman,' wrote Hook to Pusey in 1838, 'that I can never be sufficiently thankful to him for sending me that excellent man, Ward.'

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Ilfracombe, Aug. 16, 1844.

Perhaps you have heard what gives me great joy, that Ward has decided to take charge of Holy Cross Church, with Slatter under him, at which J. K. also is very much rejoiced. So, by God's mercy,

have perplexities turned to good. I hope soon to be in a condition to ask you what you think about the district of Holy Cross Church. I do not wish to come under the Act; there is plenty to provide for; and I thought, if W[ard] sees good, rather a large district might be annexed to it in which chapels might hereafter, by God's blessing, spring up. A good collection at the consecration might build one.

I thought of proposing Easter Tuesday as the day of consecration, so that the consecration might always fall upon a festival, and it would give a local and sacred interest and employment to what is often a time of idleness. . . .

Ever yours most affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

It was originally hoped that the church would be consecrated on Sept. 14th—Holy Cross Day in the Church Calendar. The Bishop of Ripon objected. He had not been consulted about the dedication of the church: his approval of its proposed name had been taken for granted. The suggestion that the church should be consecrated on Holy Cross Day raised in his mind a scruple not only as to the day of consecration, but as to the dedication of the church. He feared that he might be committed to 'some legend.'

'Everything,' wrote Pusey to Hook, 'that I touch seems to go wrong. It has not been my fault, I trust, that Holy Cross Church has been so much talked of. I have tried to stop it; and even wrote anonymously in a newspaper to correct exaggerated statements about it. However, so it is: and in the present sensitive state of people's minds, "every feather shows which way the wind sets," and I know the sort of feeling there will be that this rejection of the name by which it has unhappily become known far and wide, is a sort of movement in condemnation of certain people. . . . Altogether this objection to the name disheartens me completely, and I know not what else may be objected to: whether the stained-glass windows, and whether it may not be better to defer presenting it for consecration until the whole is completed, although this involves the loss of a year, which one would be very sorry to incur.'

Pusey's anticipations that more difficulties were before him were not without reason. Some one wrote to the Bishop objecting to the design for the west window. The Bishop had seen and approved the design: but he now objected to the representation of the Holy Face of our Lord.

'I have told the Bishop,' writes Pusey to Hook, 'that the same Countenance of our Lord is, of old, in Cirencester Church: it is not necessarily connected with the legend of St. Veronica (which Tillemont e.g. gives up). It is a sort of "Ecce Homo!" I thought that the Bishop knew all and had passed it. Now, I know not what he will do. The church is, I believe, conveyed over to him and I have said he may do with it what he thinks right. I cannot be a party to taking away the Angels. If the Bishop thinks right to take out part of the window and put in white glass he must. I commend the whole to our Lord, to Whose glory it was meant, and would have nothing to do with this myself, but pray Him to dispose it all, as is most for His glory.'

The Bishop was much annoyed. He cannot but have felt that he ought to have looked more carefully at the designs. He certainly made a grave mistake in using language which implied that Pusey had not dealt quite straightforwardly.

'As,' he wrote to Pusey, 'I have made this *discovery* of subjects being introduced of which I never had any distinct intimation, I shall feel it my duty to inspect the church myself, previous to the consecration, in order to see that other matters of the same kind have not occurred.'

To this Pusey replied with some warmth:—

'I have told your Lordship or shown to your Lordship everything about which you asked. Your Lordship asked for the drawings and I sent them. You wished to see everything yourself, and I sent them you to see. I really cannot think that it was for me to set myself to think what your Lordship might object to, and perhaps awake objections by so doing. . . . Your Lordship asked me to let you yourself see these drawings, and as you returned them without any objection, I concluded that you objected to nothing.'

Fresh difficulties were created by Sir Herbert Jenner Fust's decision against the stone altar in St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge, on January 31, 1845. In view of this case nothing had yet been decided between the Bishop and Pusey as to the material and form of the altar in Holy Cross Church. Mr. Webb, who was present in the court, described the Judgment to Pusey as 'deplorable': the tone of his letter led Pusey, in his wonted manner, to make the best he could of it.

E. B. P. TO REV. B. WEBB.

Christ Church,

F. of the Purif. [Feb. 2], 1845.

We must not be unduly downcast with such wretched decisions. It does not alter our actual position. If they drive people into themselves to think more of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, we may gain by them. One is sorry for this seeming triumph over truth: but the Eucharistic Sacrifice is offered now on wooden altars, or, it may be, on tables unseemly for it. And belief may deepen, by God's blessing, amid things adverse more than in prosperity. . . .

But what was to be done about Holy Cross Church? Might the Bishop be asked to allow of a moveable stone altar, or a carved wooden altar with a stone slab?

The Bishop allowed Pusey to take an opinion as to whether a moveable wooden altar with a stone slab would be permitted under the terms of Sir H. J. Fust's Judgment. Pusey seems to have taken the opinion of Mr. James Hope and Mr. (afterwards Sir) R. J. Phillimore, who held that such a Table was permissible. Meanwhile the Bishop had made up his mind for himself. He promised to consecrate the church in October provided the Holy Table be of the material of wood, moveable, and if the plate with the inscription to which he had objected were not there. The ground of this last objection was that the inscription might imply Prayers for the Dead.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

[August, 1845.]

The Bishop has finally refused to consecrate the Church, *if* the plate with my daughter's name is there, on the ground that it involves his sanctioning it, because he believes that he is not *required* to consecrate the church—that is at his own option. He is wrong in law, in this. However, so he has decided. There is then nothing to be done, but to keep back that part of the plate, the two chalices and one paten, on the day of the consecration. . . . The legal question as to Prayers for the Departed, supposing these to be ruled as such, is clear in our Church. . . .

Yours most affectionately,

E. B. P.

However, Dr. Longley was endeavouring to meet Pusey's wishes about the patronage of the church, although legal difficulties, arising out of the Leeds Vicarage Act, presented

themselves. Counsel's opinion had been given that under the terms of this Act every church subsequently consecrated in Leeds must be in the patronage of the see of Ripon. 'In case I have the power,' the Bishop wrote to Pusey, 'I shall not object to vest the patronage in the four persons whom you name, namely, yourself, your younger brother, the Rev. C. Marriott, and the Rev. Richard Ward.' It was in their names that the church was eventually presented for consecration.

Under the pressure of objections which were so much more easily raised than settled, even Pusey, sanguine as he was, had at times begun to lose heart. Three months before the date of the Bishop's decision respecting the plate and the altar, he had poured out his disappointment to Hook.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

[April 20, 1845.]

Everything about St. Saviour's is seemingly where it was four or five months ago. I know not whether there is not prayer enough, but not one step is gained. The Bishop does not decide against, but neither does he decide for anything. It is very wearing; but I would rather have any weariness, than a contrary decision. One's heart is quite sick with continual anxieties day after day. A feather taken off would be a relief. The year is advancing, but nothing is settled about the buildings, and the building season is hastening by; the session is waning, but nothing is settled about the nomination to the church: the glass almost at a standstill, yet nothing about the window of Bearing the Cross, although there is not an emblem in it, or figure, for which there is not authority in our English churches. I have been anxious not to commit the Bishop, but there is nothing but discouragement; and it discourages others too that the wish to benefit our Church should be thus met. Even my dear child's present of a most beautiful chalice is questioned because it has her prayer before her departure, her prayer in offering it, 'Propitius esto, Domine, Luciae, &c.'

However, I have the deep feeling that for such as me, it is only fit to have disappointment in all I do. May God forgive me and spare my work for His Son's sake.

It had now been finally settled that the church should be called St. Saviour's, and that it should be consecrated in October, 1845. Who would preach at the consecration?

That Pusey, the real founder of the church, should do so was a natural arrangement. But Pusey, it will be remembered, had been suspended from preaching at Oxford by the sentence of the Vice-Chancellor. The period of his suspension was over; but until he resumed preaching in Oxford, he did not like to preach elsewhere without the express sanction of the Bishop of the diocese. The Bishop, while unwilling to forbid his preaching, was also unwilling expressly to sanction it. Hook, indeed, before the Oxford suspension, had proposed that Pusey should preach both at the laying of the first stone of the new church and at its consecration; but the progress of events at Oxford, and the Bishop's attitude towards the new church, had not been without their effect on his impulsive, though generous, nature. He still wished Pusey to preach at one service, but doubted about the Bishop's giving an express sanction for his doing so. The Bishop would probably preach himself in the morning; Pusey might do so in the afternoon.

In August, 1845, Pusey suggested daily sermons in St. Saviour's during the week following the consecration. This practice, which has since become so general as to attract no attention, was a novelty in the Church of England forty or fifty years ago.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

Ilfracombe, August 11, 1845.

I thought there might be a course of earnest sermons (more directed to the feelings, perhaps, than on ordinary occasions of regular continued instruction) on solemn subjects, as the Four Last Things, Repentance, &c. Will you preach one of them, or more if you can; at all events, on the Sunday? I thought that perhaps we might have two every day, and that one might ask some others likely to be there or to come. I should like to have asked J. Keble, Manning, Is. Williams. I think a good deal might be done in this way. According to Bishop M^oIlvaine's account, there were genuine 'revivals in this way in the Church in America,' and the R. C.s have something of the kind in their missions.

However, good must come, one should hope, from earnest stirring sermons, with earnest intercession, at least to some.

Ever your very affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Hook had agreed with Mr. R. Ward, the incumbent-designate of the new church, that Pusey should preach once every day during the week. He cordially accepted the scheme of two sermons a day by different preachers. He would not preach himself, but he begged Pusey to ask Keble, Manning, and Isaac Williams to help him. 'Will you write at once,' he asked Pusey, 'in my name as well as yours?' He suggested that Dodsworth should be added to the list. 'I am ready,' he continued, 'to do anything you think right, now that I know you to be a good Anglican.' Pusey replied in the highest spirits. He sent Hook a list of the proposed subjects, and added :—

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

Aug. 25 (?), 1845.

My wish is that they [the sermons] should be, as perhaps I said, warm, energetic, earnest, with both severity and love, and addressed more to the feelings at the end than sermons generally are.

I think it would be best that you should take share, because the object would be the stirring up of people's souls in Leeds. There will be more difficulty to find preachers for the latter part, because people will wish to get back to their parishes, at least for the Sunday.

I have written to Manning, am writing to Is. Williams and Keble. I shall have sermons, I hope, from Copeland and C. Marriott.

I do hope that a good deal might be done in this way, and that we shall not leave the instrument of preaching in the hands of others. It too is a gift of God and a means of grace. . . .

Yours most affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

Hook objected, oddly enough, to Copeland's name, on the ground that 'he will certainly go to Rome with Newman.' He added :—

'Aug. 24, 1845.

'If any of the preachers fall away into the fearful schism of Rome, against which I am accustomed to preach so very strongly (I am this very day about to denounce the heresy of Rome in praying to saints), more mischief will be done than I can calculate. If Copeland preaches, I ought to have some pledge that he is not going over to Rome. You know how I abhor Popery.'

Pusey assured Hook that Copeland was quite safe. The Bishop cordially approved of the whole plan of the sermons. Hook invited Pusey to stay at the Vicarage for the occa-

sion, but desired that he should consult the incumbent of St. Saviour's as to whether it would not be expedient, for practical reasons, to stay in the house attached to St. Saviour's. Pusey 'did not know how far people might not misinterpret his not being with Hook.' 'I wish,' he added, 'to do whatever is best, neither compromising you nor giving needless occasion to misconstruction.'

Hook rejoined :—

Sept. 22, 1845.

'I really know not what to advise ; for as to what people will *say*, we know that, whatever is done, "Evangelicals" will say everything that is unkind and false. And I believe that it matters in these days very little what one *does*. Men think what they imagine maliciously that one ought to do, and state it as a fact that that is done.'

It was eventually decided that Pusey should stay at St. Saviour's.

There might have been no further difficulty ; but within three weeks of the day fixed for the consecration, Newman left the Church of England. Towards the end of September rumours of his immediately approaching secession were already in circulation. When Pusey assured Hook that Copeland would not follow, he added, 'At least, as things now are he has no thought of it. But what will be the result of the next few years many, I fear, would not take upon themselves to say for themselves.' Hook was, not unnaturally, alarmed at a hastily-written sentence into which he read more than it meant, but which was likely to increase prevalent suspicions.

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Sept. 22, 1845.

The latter part of your letter distressed me. Surely we ought to put forward the Protestant view of our Church in the strongest way, if there is danger of persons apostatizing to Rome. I shall take this course indubitably. I find that many sensible and right-thinking men take a very different view of poor Newman's fall from that taken by Woodgate. They think that his strong mind will soon be disgusted with the abominations of Popery, and will lapse into infidelity. It will be awful indeed if we find him at the head of an infidel movement, for infidelity is only waiting for a leader to be aggressive.

The times indeed are out of joint.

Yours most affectionately,

W. F. HOOK.

Pusey's reply is important, as stating clearly one of those deep convictions which from first to last shaped his religious life.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

Sept. 24, 1845.

I am very sorry to have distressed you. I wholly forget what I wrote. But I am quite sure that nothing can resist infidelity except the most entire system of faith; one said mournfully, 'I could have had *faith*; I cannot have *opinions*.' One must have a strong, positive, objective system which people are to believe, because it is true, on authority out of themselves. Be that authority what it may, the Scriptures through the individual teaching of the Spirit, the Primitive Church, the Church when it was visibly one, the present Church, it must be a strong authority out of one's-self.

I am sure that our Church will do absolutely nothing, through any 'Protestant view' or system in it. It is only by identifying itself with some stronger authority that it can have any hold of people's minds. If we throw ourselves in entire faith upon the early undivided Church, and say dogmatically, 'Whether this people will hear or whether they will forbear,' 'This *is* the truth, the voice of the whole Church, and, in it, of God, to you,' this will tell. But in proportion as we do this, I am sure that our protest against Rome will be weakened, and that we shall see that she is Catholic in some points, at least, where we have been taught to consider her uncatholic.

What I wish to do is to treat positive truth uncontroversially, and leave the issue with God.

But on October 9, as we know, Newman had taken the decisive step. The consequences, with respect to St. Saviour's, Leeds, were at once apparent. Archdeacon Churton declined to be one of the preachers after the consecration: 'Late events had too much disheartened him for any public effort.' He would 'stay at home and pray to Him Who walked the waves to still a storm which is past our powers of pilotage.' Hook thought that the proposed course of sermons must be given up; and Pusey himself had been too intimate with Newman not to think that Hook would be relieved if he were not present at the consecration.

E. B. P. TO REV. DR. HOOK.

[Christ Church], Oct. 16, [1845.]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I would not of course do in your parish what you would not wish, and therefore, if you so think best, I will not be at the

consecration at all. My only feeling is for others. I had written to E. C[hurton] that I see no ground why what is for the good of souls should be given up. . . . Things distressing around, so far from being any occasion for not exerting ourselves in anything which we hope to be for God's glory, seem the very reason why we should the more. I am sure that increased prayer, and more devoted exertion, are the only remedies in this crisis.

You must also take into account the great injury of adding to dejection as if we were paralyzed. The plan, having been once arranged, cannot be abandoned without a virtual confession of disqualification on our own part to preach. You have no idea of the extent of dejection. . . . To me the abandonment of the plan appears a most mistaken step.

However, you must judge as you think best. . . .

Yours very affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

If we were all sitting at home fasting and weeping for our own sins, and the sins of our people, this would be a different thing. If we are to go on doing our active duties, I see not why we should give up what is for God's honour.

Hook would not hear of Pusey's absence :—

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Vicarage, Leeds, Oct. 17, 1845.

Robert Wilberforce is with me, and I have consulted him, and we have agreed that it would be inexpedient to give up the sermons entirely, but that they had better not be continued beyond the following Sunday. As to your not coming, it would be ruin to us, as it would be supposed that you were prohibited by the Bishop. I only hope things will be done as quietly as possible. You must remember that there are not five persons in Leeds who will sympathize with you.

Pusey persevered in insisting that the week of sermons should not be given up.

'It is not,' he wrote to Hook on Oct. 19, 'as if we were coming together to preach controversy, or lecture on the Church's Apostolical commission. How can one preaching on earnest subjects stir up Puritanism? And after all what harm can Puritanism do? And then there is the good, if some are edified; rather, if Puritanism clamours, it will be ashamed afterwards.'

Upon this Hook consented, somewhat reluctantly, to carrying out the original plan. If the sermons were to be printed, they might as well be preached.

Not that Hook was satisfied by Pusey's assurance that the sermons would be practical and uncontroversial. He would wish them to be controversial, only in an anti-Papist sense.

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Oct. 20, 1845.

If you were to preach on the Church, Apostolical Succession, or anything else, evincing an attachment to the Church of England, you might do much good. Your abstaining from such subjects at this time will only confirm people in the opinion that you do not love the Church of England. . . . I hope you will be guided right, and I daily pray for it. But no words can express my fears.

To this letter Pusey replied :—

Christ Church [Oct. 21, 1845].

I have been frightening you, or you yourself. I do not suppose there will be a Romanizing word from beginning to end of the sermons. I wish to write for people's souls, not controversy. All I have said about confession lies in this sentence : ' If it is too awful to any one to bear this (knowledge of one's sins) alone, or does anything weigh heavily, or need we counsel, or long we for peace through His pardoning words, our Church has taught us how to obtain it by opening our grief [or, as she says, by a special confession of sins]. Great grace has been so bestowed by God on those who seek it for His forgiveness and His love.'

You probably expected much more. I will leave out what of this you like, although you will see that I have used our Church's own words, not mine. If you like, I will leave out the words in brackets, which are from the Visitation of the Sick, although it is certainly great 'reserve' not to teach what our Church teaches. . . .

Ever your affectionate friend,

E. B. P.

Hook at once responded with the impetuous and generous warmth which characterized him :—

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Vicarage, Leeds, Oct. 25, 1845.

A thousand thanks for your letter. It is perfectly satisfactory. I see now that you understand the state of things here, and I shall have perfect confidence in you. The services may do infinite good, but may do much mischief also—all depends upon discretion, surrounded as we are by malignant spirits, anxious to misrepresent anything. . . .

Yours most affectionately,

My very dear old friend,

W. F. HOOK.

Hook was not the only person connected with St. Saviour's who gave tokens of the panic that was created by Newman's secession. The Bishop of Ripon had approved of the plans for the church and of the course of sermons. Now that the church was completed, he objected first to three portions of the west window, then to the cross over the chancel-screen, and last of all to the altar-linen, which had been specially worked for the church. Pusey interposed no remonstrance; he left it to the Bishop to give orders for the removal of anything of which he disapproved. 'It would have saved expense and vexation,' observed Lady Lucy Pusey, 'if the Bishop had done this before.'

The visit to Leeds was a great effort to Pusey. He had to go alone. He could no longer associate himself with 'the friend of above twenty-two years, who was to him as his own soul,' with whom he had hitherto shared whatever labours he had undertaken for the Church, 'and whose counsel had been to him for the last twelve years, in every trial, the greatest earthly comfort and stay¹.' Nor of the nearer friends who remained was any able to accompany him. His wife's illness detained Keble; their own ill-health Marriott and Williams. Archdeacon Churton was kept at a distance by misgivings; Archdeacon Manning by business. Pusey's sense of solitude appears in a letter to his son, who was still at school at Brighton:—

E. B. P. TO P. E. PUSEY.

Christ Church, Vigil of St. Simon and St. Jude,
1845, 6 o'cl. [a.m.]

MY DEAR PHILIP,

. . . You will perhaps have heard in part of my many sorrows; they are thickening upon us; week by week brings some fresh sorrow; there is no human help for it; something may be done now and then. I have been trying what I could do, and this and the sermons I hope to preach at Leeds have taken up all my time, so that I have not been able to tell you how much joy it gave me, amid all this sorrow, to hear that you were fighting steadily, with God's help. . . .

I must break off, having been up all night, and having to set off for Leeds soon. I write this line that you may know about our services,

¹ 'Leeds Sermons,' pref., p. ii.

and pray God to bless what we would wish to be for His glory. The Plate will, I hope, be presented on All Saints' Day.

May He ever bless you.

Your affectionate father,

E. B. P.

I am not depressed myself. Things are in God's Hands, and so I feel like one who, if I live, am to go through a great deal of pain, not knowing how things will end, but only saying, Thy Will be done, Thy Will be done.

A long day's journey, partly by coach and partly by railroad, brought Pusey to Leeds late on the evening of the day on which this letter was written. Tired as he was, he had at once to face new difficulties.

'Hook,' writes the Rev. J. B. Mozley, 'was exceedingly hearty, though very nervous beforehand and apprehensive. He had a declaration against Popery, ready to take off the effect of the meeting in that direction. . . . The Bishop too was dreadfully nervous, and in fact one would suppose Pusey was a lion or some beast of prey,—people seem to have been so afraid of him. The Bishop was afraid of being entrapped into anything, and objected to this and to that¹.'

It will be remembered that the founder of the new church had made it a first condition of his offer that it should contain an inscription of the words, 'Ye who enter this holy place pray for the sinner who built it.' This condition had been accepted by the Bishop, 'provided the party was alive for whom the prayers were required.' On the eve of the consecration, the Bishop, who had forgotten a consent given in happier circumstances, declined to proceed with the consecration until the inscription was removed. He was told that the church was only built on the condition of its being there. He now expressed his fear that the unknown founder might by this time be dead; but on being assured that he was alive, the Bishop waived his objection. It was agreed that if the founder should die while his Lordship was still Bishop of Ripon, he should be informed of the event. The founder lived to see the Bishop Primate of all England, and survived him fourteen years.

Pusey's hope that the Communion plate might be presented on All Saints' Day, without further alteration, was

¹ 'Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley,' p. 172.

disappointed. The Bishop objected to the inscribed prayer that God would be merciful to Lucy Pusey. For the time, therefore, the Plate was withheld; in the following spring Pusey was able to suggest a new inscription¹, which gave



ST. SAVIOUR'S, LEEDS (EXTERIOR).

expression to his deceased daughter's wishes, while it also met with the Bishop's approval.

The consecration itself, on the Feast of St. Simon

¹ The inscriptions finally chosen ran as follows: on the paten, '*Panem angelorum manducavit homo. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia*'; on the chalice,

'Calicem salutaris accipiam et sacrificabo hostiam laudis. Alleluia,' and *'Mors tua sit mihi gloria sempiterna et nunc et in perpetuum.'*

and St. Jude, passed off happily. It was a fine day; a mild October sun did something to relieve the wonted gloom of the neighbourhood. From the early morning the church gates were besieged. The Vicar of Leeds and a large majority of the local clergy took part in the proceedings. Two hundred and sixty clergy in all were present. The people of the neighbourhood gazed with wondering but not unfriendly eyes on the unwonted sight of the long procession of surpliced clergy, as it wound up from the schoolroom at the bottom of the hill to the western door of the church. There, beneath the much-questioned inscription, the Bishop received the petition for consecration; the 24th Psalm was repeated in alternate verses, as the procession passed up the nave; and the Bishop took his seat on the north side of the altar, where the legal formalities were completed, and the usual service of consecration proceeded with. The clergy filled the chancel and the transepts; all the other seats and the passages were closely packed with the laity. Matins were said by the incumbent, the Rev. R. Ward; the Psalms were chanted to Gregorian tones by the choir of the new church, assisted by that of the parish church. The founder himself chose an anthem befitting the penitential spirit in which the church was offered to Almighty God. It was Atwood's 'Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, O Lord,' and it was sung without an organ accompaniment. The Bishop preached on Isaiah v. 4, taking occasion to point out the blessings which we enjoy as members of the English Church, and the dangers which would be incurred by ungrateful abuse of them. The offertory amounted to £985. The Bishop himself was celebrant; there were five hundred communicants; and the service, which had begun at half-past eleven, did not conclude until after four o'clock.

When, at its conclusion, the clergy reached the schoolroom which they had left five hours before, Dr. Hook proposed an address to the Bishop, to be signed by the clergy who were present, pledging them to loyalty to the Church of England. With the object of such an address

Pusey had, of course, entire sympathy, but the terms in which it was drawn up were too largely due to the heated controversy and panic of the time to be welcome to him.



ST. SAVIOUR'S, LEEDS (INTERIOR),
as it appeared some years later.

The clergy were too tired and hungry to do more than agree that there should be an address, while its terms were left open for further discussion.

At the evening service Pusey preached to a very crowded congregation. His subject was the loving penitence of St. Mary Magdalen, with whom he associates himself, both in her sin and her repentance. He reminds his audience more than once that the church was the offering of a penitent; he assures them that 'as yet this stray sheep is not laid up in the everlasting fold,' and that it 'was a joy to him that his penitent love had called forth that of others.' All that his hearers knew was that Pusey knew who this penitent was, and they might further have inferred that Pusey knew him intimately. But that the penitent was himself, the preacher, was more than any would have surmised; although this circumstance added greatly to the power of the sermon. It was sufficient for Pusey that God knew his singleness of purpose, his lowly penitence, his hopeful perseverance in spite of all hindrances, his sincere concern for the souls of his fellow-men. Unaffected by general suspicion, by the hesitancy and changeableness of Hook's support, or by the scarcely concealed distrust of the Bishop, he was able thus quietly, without the knowledge or appreciation of men, to dedicate his noble offering to God.

During the octave of the consecration, nineteen sermons were preached besides that of the Bishop; three sermons on four of the days and two on the others. Of these sermons Pusey delivered no less than seventeen¹; ten were entirely written by him; the others he preached for their respective writers; but he appears to have added to each some of his own thoughts. He seems to have broken down when attempting to utter one of the most solemn passages in Keble's sermon on 'the Last Judgment².' This sermon is probably the finest in the series, but Pusey's own contributions to the course were not unworthy of the occasion. These sermons illustrate, as well as any he has published, the two governing characteristics of his religious mind—the vivid intensity with which he grasped the realities of the unseen

¹ The Rev. W. U. Richards and the Rev. W. Dodsworth were able to be present to preach their sermons.

² 'Leeds Sermons,' p. 84.

world, and the hopefulness which animated his whole conception of the relations between the soul and its Maker and Redeemer. The penitent is conducted from the abyss of humiliation and defilement, but without any compromise of moral truth, to the Presence Chamber of heaven.

Pusey was much cheered by the spiritual results of this effort, so far as they could be measured.

'The sermons,' he wrote to Keble, 'became a sort of "retreat" for people to think in stillness over very solemn subjects. And yours impressed persons much. It was a very blessed time. God's blessing seemed visibly settled there. People came, day after day, to the *three* sermons (mostly), listened very earnestly, and returned home with a deepened sense of responsibility. This was expressed very affectingly. It was a very cheering week. There seemed such a much deeper spirit among the clergy, a greater sense of the need of intercession.'

Meanwhile Hook became very uneasy, and false rumours increased his discomfort. He therefore wrote to Pusey expressing his conviction that Newman's secession made a strong anti-Roman declaration necessary, if he was to hold his own in Leeds against Puritanism no less than against Rome. He probably overrated the value of such documents; he certainly attached to vehement language about Popery a value which it does not possess for any except the impetuous or half-educated. But it is difficult at this date to do full justice to the anxieties of the position.

Pusey received this renewed appeal just as he was preparing to preach on the Eve of All Saints. But he lost no time in answering it in terms of characteristic mildness and discretion.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Vigil of All Saints, 1845.

I am looking over my sermon for 7.30, but I wish just to relieve you of your anxiety: first, there is no new clergyman come to St. Saviour's; secondly, I do not know any Romanizers with me. The only persons whose sermons have been preached are C. Marriott's, J. Keble's, Is. Williams', with Richards and Dodsworth, all of whom you knew of.

You really have no reason to dread St. Saviour's: there has been no reserve with the Bishop. Ward is no Romanizer but devoted to his Master's work simply. He has told the Bishop all he wishes; pray do not mistrust him, nor think that I am going to make any instrument

of St. Saviour's. I do not wish to meddle. And I am sure W[ard] needs no advice of mine, although I would say to him what you say.

With regard to the address to the Bishop, I think it would do good: I do believe much good has been done by this meeting: people, as far as I have seen, are going back to their work more cheerfully and devotedly, with hearts warmed by those fervent responses at the day of the consecration. I have heard nothing which has cheered me so much this long time. With devotion in our Church all will be right in the end. Pray do not make use of the declaration without seeing me. It would be cruel to me to make what is in fact my gift to Leeds (since but for me it would not have been given) an occasion of fresh suspicion against me, by putting out a document which I cannot sign. My dear friend, no one can suspect you of Romanizing, except such as object to what the Church really teaches, as Romanizing, which you know many do.

Nothing can really have been quieter than the services at St. Saviour's. There has not been a word Romanizing. And they have, by God's blessing, done good, I know, to some consciences.

Pray have confidence in me that I mean all I say, and say to you all I mean. God bless you.

Your very affectionate friend,

E. B. P.

It would have been a great misfortune if Pusey and Hook had been unable at this juncture to unite in some expression of hopeful loyalty to the Church of England, although it was plain that Pusey could not assent to the ultra-Protestant kind of manifesto which for the moment Hook was advocating. In the end Hook, as generous as he was impulsive, gave way, and the subjoined document, which had been written by Pusey, was forwarded to the Bishop of Ripon:—

MY LORD,

The late occasion of the consecration of St. Saviour's Church having united together many, whose office lies out of your Lordship's diocese, with those over whom you are set in the Lord; it will not, we trust, seem out of place, if we take this occasion of expressing in common our respectful sympathy with your Lordship amid the great and sorrowful distresses of this time. Yet amid our deep sorrow for the departure of those who have left our Communion, we trust, that by the mercy of God, there is no ground for discouragement, even in our present manifold distresses, but that His Fatherly Hand which has been over our Church, hitherto preserving and guiding her so mercifully, will be with her to the end. In reliance upon His gracious aid, we earnestly desire to give ourselves the more devotedly to those duties to which He has been pleased to call us in this portion of His vineyard,

in thankful acknowledgement of His great and undeserved mercies vouchsafed to us in it. And since every good gift is from God, we humbly commend ourselves to your Lordship's prayers, as we ourselves hope to offer more fervently henceforth our own imperfect prayers for your Lordship, and other Bishops of our Church.

(Signed) W. F. HOOK, D.D., Vicar of Leeds.
E. B. PUSEY, D.D.
EDW. CHURTON, M.A., Vicar of Crayke,
and 156 others.

How completely Hook had recovered the feelings towards Pusey which were natural to him will appear from the letter which Pusey received soon after his return to Oxford.

REV. DR. HOOK TO E. B. P.

Vicarage, Leeds, November 11, 1845.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

I wish much to hear how you are after all your exertions last week, and to tell you how entirely to my satisfaction all things were done. The dear clergy of St. Saviour's seem to be setting to work in good earnest. Ward will preach at the parish church on Sunday, D.V., and I at St. Saviour's. My own flock, who are devoted to the *Via Media* like their pastor, and who were alarmed at first lest I should be wishing to introduce a Romanizing system, seem to be quite contented with things as they are. I hear from all quarters that much good has been done to the strangers who attended, especially to some wrong-headed but right-hearted young men.

With reference to your plate, I intend always to remember *Her* in my commemoration of the Departed, that is, once every day and especially at the Holy Communion. I feel that from my friendship for you I may have the privilege of doing this.

If in anything relating to the late transactions I have hurt your feelings or expressed my own too strongly, I should ask your forgiveness if I did not feel sure that I have obtained it already. I have been much perplexed and worked upon by opposite parties, and had many troubles, and my nerves are so thoroughly shaken that I mean to go away for a week or ten days. This is very wrong, but I cannot help it: you know not all I have to go through: I mention it now that you may pray for me the more earnestly.

I think in a preface or dedication of your sermons, it might be expedient to mention the fact that a stronger address was at first designed, but that all hard words were softened that all might unite in expressing devotion to the Church of England. I am afraid when the address goes to the Bishop he will take the opportunity to administer a reproof: I doubt the policy of the measure. I also think you should turn the matter well over in your mind before you dedicate the sermons

to him, unless you have his permission. He may think it an attempt to involve him.

When next you come to Leeds you must be my guest.

I am, your devotedly attached old friend in the *Via Media*,
W. F. HOOK.

The memory of 'that blessed peaceful week,' as he called it, at St. Saviour's, was a great source of strength and consolation to Pusey in the troubles which now surrounded him at Oxford. His last thoughts about it are expressed in the preface to the volume of sermons which were preached at Leeds, and which were published at the close of the same year. In the subjoined words Pusey takes a last look at a passage in his life which, associated as it was with trouble and anxiety, had yet been so full of encouragement and hope:—

'On the late occasion God did bless very visibly the solemn services. There seemed, so to say, to be an atmosphere of blessing hanging around and over the Church. How should not one hope it, when, besides those gathered there, many were praying Him, in Whose hands are the hearts of men, and Who turneth not away the face of those who seek Him? It was the very feeling of those engaged, that God was graciously in a heavenly manner present there. He seemed, amid the solemn stillness of those services, to speak in silence to the soul of each; and many hearts were there by His secret call, and through the Holy Eucharist which we were permitted daily to celebrate, stirred to more resolute, devoted service. To Him be the praise, Whose was the gift!'

Pusey returned to Oxford only to find himself in the midst of other difficulties created by Newman's departure. One of the first letters he had to write was to the husband of one who had joined the Church of Rome, and to whom Pusey tried to explain how the avoidance of the usual controversial topics against Rome was to be reconciled with tenacious allegiance to the Church of England.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE.

Christ Church, Th. after All Saints, 1845.

I did not answer your wife's letter, being so very hurried, and obliged to do everything against time, and also that I had nothing to

¹ 'Sermons preached at the Consecration of St. Saviour's, Leeds,' pref. p. ix.

say, except what would give pain. Those who go seem to be sadly hurried on. Almost every case seems to me to have that about it which is a token against it.

The first reason why I left off saying anything against Roman doctrine to persons who were drawn towards Rome, was that it seemed to me to be appealing too much to private judgement. It seemed to be making individuals judges between the Churches, whereas the great body in the Church must necessarily be incompetent to enter into the question. Then too controversy seemed to jar the mind, and put it in a bad and irritated state. Then also people seemed to be better bound by their affections than by negations. Our duty to our own Church is irrespective of every question whatsoever as to the Church of Rome. It is our duty to God, Who has placed us in it, and made her the channel of His grace to the soul. This seemed to me a direct appeal to people's affections and responsibilities, whereas, in controversy, they usually forgot both. It seemed to dry them up.

This was my ground at first. Afterwards I began to hope that the *actual decrees* to which the Roman Church is bound might be so explained, e.g. by another General Council, that they could be accepted by us, and that the Churches were not hopelessly at variance. But in proportion as one hoped this, one could not but be hindered from speaking against the decrees. I began to hope that what is commonly called 'Popery' might not be a part of the formal system to which the Roman Church was actually committed. There is, of course, still a very serious objection to joining a system in which these things are tolerated and encouraged. Still the positive grounds seemed to me most to come home to persons. They are grounds of thankfulness and duty to Almighty God, Who has given us, where we are, so many blessings, so that if any are not saved, it is wholly their own fault.

The rejection of our own Church is so solemn and awful a step that I believe that it will in the end retain many who would not be retained by any grounds against the Church of Rome. It is rejecting her whom God has not rejected. I wish time could have been gained. People seem hurried away, so as not to give themselves time calmly to see their duty.

I am very tired with a night journey from Leeds. What I saw there was very encouraging. Indeed, the deepening earnestness of persons in our Church, as it is a token for the future, so it binds one the more, as being a token of God's gracious Presence.

You will be glad of the enclosed Intercessions. I hope that they will be used widely, and that the religious poor will be able to join in the first simple form.

God bless you ever.

This is a letter which is obviously dealing with the needs of a particular correspondent. But it is impossible, when once the question of the Roman claims has been raised, to

prevent an appeal to private judgment, which has to decide just as really whether those claims are accepted or set aside. It is true also, as Pusey says, that controversy is pregnant with moral mischief; but when we are confronted with a controversial position, how is it to be avoided? Pusey is on strong ground—ground which he knew from experience to be strong—when he urges that men are better bound to a Church by their love of her than by their rejection of some other Church. Loving as he did the Church of England devotedly, he could not understand how others did not share this affection, or how it could fail to be strong enough in their case, as it was in his, to dispense with the necessity for the controversial weapons of divines of a former generation. But as time went on, the necessities of his position obliged Pusey to abandon, or at least to modify, this non-controversial attitude towards Rome. For Rome made statements which, if true, traversed and rendered impossible the position of the Church of England as a portion of the Body of Christ. But were those statements true? It was practically impossible to avoid this issue, and accordingly, within a few weeks, we find Pusey writing, on the defensive indeed, but still in active controversy with Roman teaching.

The appearance of Newman's essay on the 'Development of Christian Doctrine' was one of the causes which compelled Pusey to recur to a more adverse position with regard to the claims of Rome. Pusey had expressed hopes about that essay in his sanguine way; but when it appeared, it must have shown him that between him and the friend of so many years a wider gulf existed than he had supposed. Development, as stated by Newman, was, so Pusey thought, more likely to be effectively employed in advancing destructive theories than in the interests of the creed of any portion of the Christian Church; it was opposed, moreover, to the Vincentian rule of the *quod semper*, &c., which in Pusey's mind was the base of the Tractarian movement. Certainly in his Whit-Sunday sermon of 1843, Newman had indicated the direction in which his own thoughts were

moving; but Pusey was not attentive to such unwelcome indications, and may easily have persuaded himself to think of the sermon as a theological incident of no particular significance. Now, however, he was face to face with a theory having a peculiar fascination for a large class of modern minds, and obliging him for their sake, if not for his own, to weigh its worth.

Later in the spring he had occasion to write to the Rev. T. E. Morris, who at the beginning of Lent Term, 1846, had resigned his tutorship at Christ Church on account of the secession of his brother, the Rev. J. B. Morris, to the Church of Rome.

E. B. P. TO REV. T. E. MORRIS.

Christ Church, March 6, 1846.

MY DEAR MORRIS,

It was a comfort to us to see you undisturbed amid so severe a shock. I am very sorry to see your brother so vehement: it is out of love for us; but I wish he had more love for her through whom he has become whatever, by God's grace, he is. No good can come from thus shutting the eyes to all there is of good in her that nurtured him, and calling her 'The Establishment,' as Lord J. Russell, &c. do. Copeland said this morning, 'I could have imagined any amount of good, if each side were alive to see what there is of good and noble in the other; but no good can come of this.' Some, I hear, of those who have gone over, have been sorely disappointed at what they have found (not of those with whom your brother is); they had left a higher standard than they found. I trust they may do good in raising it. But will none ever leave their stiff theory of 'extraordinary grace,' and when people are drawing their life from Sacraments, will they always think that the Sacraments—I cannot write it. However, we must have patience and pray. Mysterious as it all is, I cannot think that such good men as J. H. N. and your brother will be thrown away there, sorely disappointing as to me dear N.'s extreme line is, and unconvincing. It seems to throw me further back; I had hoped that things which go so far beyond their own Formularies would have disappeared. I could not imagine dear N. writing, as the French R. C. writers do, of the Blessed Virgin, and exciting the feelings by descriptions of her love and tenderness. It would be an entirely different *ἡθος* from his sermons. And I cannot think it will be. But his defence in his essay is as disappointing to me as it is unsatisfactory. If the French language is to come in, I do not see (as Bishop Medley said to me once) of what use the Epistle to the Hebrews is to be to us. . . .

Remember me, with kind sympathy, to your father. Things are deeply mending, if we wait, work, and pray.

God be with you ever.

Yours affectionately

E. B. PUSEY.

Friday after First Sunday in Lent, 1846.

Macmullen is gone to J. K. at Hursley. Dear Williams is sinking very gently. The Heads say, 'We want peace.' I wish it had been found out sooner.

Writing to another person on March 2, 1846, Pusey expresses his convictions, as he took stock of them after the recent shock, in the following terms:—

E. B. P. TO A LADY.

Christ Church, first Monday in Lent,
Feb. [March] 2, 1846.

To sum up what I mean as to our position, I believe with our divines—

1. That the authority of the Pope, which was set aside, was human and not Divine.

2. That the Pope, excommunicating unjustly Queen Elizabeth and her adherents, his sentence was not confirmed in heaven against us, as the event shows.

3. That there were real corruptions at the time (as R. C.'s confess), which we set ourselves to reform by ourselves, having a right so to do, whether it was the wisest course or no.

4. That in so doing, and in the Reformation itself, we contravened no decision of the Church, nor ruled anything contrary to the faith.

5. That having the Apostolic Succession, we have the Sacraments, and being neither heretics nor schismatics, we have their grace, with the power of the keys.

6. That having these, we have all things necessary to our salvation, and that those among us who would be saved anywhere, would be saved in the Church of England.

7. That having the Succession, we are the Catholic Church in England, i. e. that Church which God planted here for man's salvation. (This I say without implying anything as to R. C.s among us, although I think the temper shown, as among the Irish, certainly is no mark in their favour.)

8. That having been placed by God in this Church, we have no right to choose for ourselves.

9. That there are very serious things in the Roman Communion which ought to keep us where we are. I would instance chiefly the system as to the Blessed Virgin as the Mediatrix and Dispenser of all present blessings to mankind. (I think nothing short of a fresh Revelation could justify this.) Then the sale of Masses as applicable

to the departed, the system of Indulgences as applied to the departed, the denial of the Cup to the laity.

10. I should also say, that if it were clear that the Church of Rome was *the* Church, of course we should have nothing to do but to submit. While we do not see this, then such grounds as I have named, which we cannot see to be right, are strong grounds for remaining where we are. I feel at once held by the Church of England, and repelled by these things in the Roman Church. I find myself (with our divines) as far off as ever from being able to use the prayers to the Blessed Virgin they use, and repelled by the language of their devotional book—‘have recourse to Jesus and Mary’; ‘by the aid of Jesus and Mary.’

I cannot think that all this, so different from what one finds in the early centuries, can be right. It goes far beyond the Council of Trent; yet however hereafter, in any reconciliation of the Churches, those decrees might be ruled so as not to authorize this, an individual cannot act thus. He will not separate the letter from the practical-system. It would be wrong to join the Roman Church unless one was convinced beyond all doubt that it was the only Church; that out of it was no salvation. Now it may be these very things are marks that we should not consider her thus exclusively the Church. She is unlike the Church when the Church was one. Claims of power which had been limited by General Councils divided the East and West. The temporal claim of Rome has a note upon it, that it has been the breaker of unity, first in the East, at last with ourselves. And Rome herself has suffered by it. As I said in my last, grave persons speak of the Court of Rome as having been the most wicked in Europe; none can speak more strongly of [those] times than Baronius; a very religious Roman Catholic nobleman at Rome so speaks now. It is the temporal authority which has made it so. This may well make one pause ere one commits oneself to believe that that system alone, not being that even of the first five centuries, is Divine. ‘As far as the constitution of the Church is concerned,’ Mr. N. wrote rightly in 1840, ‘the separation between Rome and England does not constitute so great a difference from the age of St. Cyprian, as does the ecclesiastical monarchy of Hildebrand from that of St. Augustine.’

In spite of this being the real state of Pusey’s mind, it was natural enough that Newman should hope for his conversion to Roman Catholicism. They had worked together for so many years, they had been on terms of such intimacy and generally of such entire sympathy with each other, that it required in both of them a severe effort of the imagination to anticipate that they would work apart from, and, on certain subjects, in opposition to each other for

the remainder of their lives. Thus it was that at first Newman may have expressed himself in private more or less confidently on the subject of Pusey's conversion to Rome, especially to younger men who had looked up to both of them. Writing with the unrestrained fervour of a neophyte, who no doubt, without meaning it, read his own reflections or wishes into Newman's words, Mr. J. B. Morris actually ventured to report to his brother: '*Inter nos*, N. thinks from past events in P.'s life that he must ere long be deranged or a Catholic.' Neither of these alternatives was to be realized in the sense of the writer; the world had abundant evidence of Pusey's sanity to the end of a long life, and all efforts to induce him to become 'a Catholic,' otherwise than as he had always been, were doomed to disappointment.

After Newman's secession the friends saw nothing of each other for two months. The walks to Littlemore were discontinued. At the end of Term, in December, Newman called at Christ Church. Pusey afterwards spoke of Newman's manner as 'sharp.' They met again on February 18, and this meeting also would seem to have been marked by a certain constraint. Newman followed it up by a letter which depicts in his own inimitable way his affection and his disappointment.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Littlemore, Feb. 21, 1846.

MY VERY DEAR PUSEY,

How rightly I judged that it was best at present that we should not meet! This has been the reason of my keeping away from you. Since I saw you on Wednesday, I have heard that you thought my manner, on the only time I called, at the beginning of December, sharp. Such misunderstandings must be just now. What good then is there in meeting to mistake each other? It is the same with writing. I cannot write so as to please even myself. W. U. Richards, as hearing from you, spoke of this supposed sharpness of mine to Morris, as an evidence of deterioration of $\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ in me, which should act as a dissuasive from joining the Church of Rome. That is, a number of persons are making great sacrifices in credit and circumstances: their brethren, who feel called to remain as they were, pass this over altogether, and in the face of it have the heart to scrutinize the details of their manner in conversation, in order to find a charge against them. Surely such

critics are in want either of arguments for their own cause, or of charity. May none of us hereafter be judged by so severe a judgement as is now exercised towards the converts generally! And after all, that severity perhaps has no other foundation than the newness of their position, which their censors have not entered into.

Would I could say something which would sound less cold than this, but really I dare not. I could not without saying something which would seem rude. Alas! I have no alternative between silence and saying what would pain. May the day come, when it will not be so. Then old times will come again, and happier.

Till then,

Ever yours affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

This letter was written during the last hours which Newman spent alone in his home at Littlemore, when his heart was full almost to breaking of the memories of the past. On the following day, Quinquagesima Sunday, February 22, he left Littlemore, and spent the evening with his friend, Manuel Johnson, at the Observatory, where he passed the night. Copeland, who was with them, kept Pusey informed of what had passed, and on the following morning, when his nine o'clock Hebrew lecture was over, Pusey went up to the Observatory to say good-bye to his old friend, who was to leave Oxford for good later in the day.

Pusey was too much distressed to say more than he could help. He wrote to Keble within the two days—February 22 and 23—without alluding to the subject which filled his heart. But he sent after Newman to Oscott a short note, to assure him of his affection. This note drew from Newman an appeal which had been impossible during their interviews with each other; it expresses the tone—happily transient—of the new convert, and gives a picture of Pusey's religious progress and position which in the 'Apologia' he acknowledged to be quite erroneous.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Maryvale, Oscott, Birmingham.

Feb. 26, 1846.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

Thank you for your affectionate note. I will but say that I cannot conceive, and will not, that the subject of so many prayers

as are now offered for you, beginning at Rome, and reaching to Constantinople and England, should ultimately remain where you are. And I am confirmed in this expectation by observing how very much you have changed your views year by year. I think the year can hardly be named which you ended with the same view of the Roman Church as you began it. And every change has been an approximation to that religion.

This, my dearest Pusey, is an earnest which satisfies me about the future, though I don't tell others so—nor am I anxious or impatient at the delay, for God has His own good time for everything. What does make me anxious, is, whenever I hear that, in spite of your evident approximation in doctrine and view to the Roman system, you are acting in hostility against it, and keeping souls in a system which you cannot bring out into words, as I consider, or rest upon any authority besides your own.

Excuse this freedom, and do not let me pain you. I am in a house in which Christ is always present as He was to His disciples, and where one can go in from time to time through the day to gain strength from Him. Perhaps this thought makes me bold and urgent.

Ever yours very affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Pusey did not reply for a fortnight. He then wrote to announce the recovery of the Rev. I. Williams from the illness which had so long threatened his life. He added:—

Thank you very much for your most affectionate note. I have given a wrong impression about myself in some things. But I have not time to explain now. And explanation could only give pain.

Ever your very affectionate and grateful

E. B. P.

Christ Church, Third Sunday in Lent, 1846.

The intervals in their correspondence were lengthening. A month later Newman acknowledged Pusey's note.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

Maryvale, April 15, 1846.

I do not like Easter to pass without your getting a line from me to assure [you] of my love and constant thoughts of you. My love to the children too, with one or other of whom I suppose you are.

Your news about Isaac Williams was most cheering. There have been many prayers offered up here, that he might be reserved, till he was a Catholic—but all is in God's hand.

Ever yours affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Pusey did not acknowledge this note. On July 11 Newman wrote again:—

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO E. B. P.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

17 Grosvenor Place, July 11, 1846.

I wish it were not my lot to write letters distressing to your kind heart. It will not always be so, I do believe. Our present sorrows are the necessary process of a joyful end.

You may guess what I write about. Mrs. Bowden expected that her last letter, enclosing your papers, would have prepared you for what then was to be, and now has taken place. However, from your letter received this morning she finds it has not sufficiently done so. She has asked me in consequence to write a line to you to express her concern, that one so considerate and anxious as you have shown yourself in her trial, should have been accidentally left unacquainted with the termination in which it has issued.

Ever yours, my dear Pusey,

Very affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

This note obliged Pusey, as he thought, to make his real position clearer to Newman, and to put an end to the unfounded expectations in which Newman's affection induced him to indulge.

E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

MY DEAR NEWMAN,

Tenby, Sunday night, July 12, 1846.

Thank you very much for your kind and tender letter, as well as for that which I had at Easter. I did not write sooner, partly because I have been much overworked for a long time, till now, when I am told to recruit, partly because I thought I could hardly write anything which would not pain you. For you have one wish for me; and I am no nearer that than heretofore. I cannot unmake myself; I cannot see otherwise than I have seen these many years; I have come to think otherwise in some details; but as [to] the one point upon which all turns, I am no nearer to thinking that the English Church is no true part of the Church, or that inter-communion with Rome is essential, or that the present claims of Rome are Divine. I earnestly desire the restoration of unity, but I cannot throw myself into the practical Roman system, nor renounce what I believe our gracious Lord acknowledges.

And so I must go on, with joy at the signs of deepening life among us, and distress at our losses, and amazement that Almighty God vouchsafes to employ me for anything, and thinking it less than I ought to expect when everything is brought to a contrary issue from what I desire.

I know that you too will joy at all at which I joy, in itself; for you must joy far more than I at any signs of increasing holiness, or the return of penitents. Yet if I were to write that there were these consolations, I feared lest you should think that I was propping myself up by these tokens of God's grace. Yet it is a subject of joy, both in itself, since it is so to the blessed Angels, and as showing the Presence of His grace, more evidently than heretofore, drawing souls to Himself.

I wished also that the writer of the article upon me in the *Dublin Review* should know that he entirely misunderstood the grounds upon which I said no more about the Roman Church in my sermon on the power of the keys, i.e. that I had no such motives as he ascribed to me. But this privately only. I have no wish to be less censured. I was pained by several things. I should have thought a person who knew so much ought to have known more, and he would not so have written. However, it is my own fault, if it is not useful to me. . . . No good can come from these personalities; however, there will be all sorts of blunders and mutual pain at first.

Thank you much for your kind message through C. as to your probable destination. I felt very glad you would be there, although one could not help a pang that the Propaganda is in part directed towards England. However, I have a faith that all will come right, wherever you are, though I see not how; and all, past and present, is to me a great mystery which I sigh over.

I am here recruiting, having had a cough, off and on, for these seven months, but it has now nearly disappeared. I was feeling very worn, but now, by God's mercy, have a feeling of returning health, which I have not had these many sore months.

I have not sent you my little 'adapted' books, since I hear some R. C.s are very much displeased about them, although others have been very kind. You will know how sick at heart it makes me to write this.

You will be kindly glad to hear that poor Philip is going on well in spirit, while in body more crippled and with more disease. He has, at last, given up, amid his increasing disorders, the one wish of his heart, to enter Holy Orders, and has now, he says, one only thing to live for, that God's Will should be fulfilled in him and his own will perfectly conformed to His. You will remember him the more for this his wish.

My head is half in a whirl, with all the thoughts of the past, in writing such a letter as this to you.

God be with you ever.

Your very affectionate friend,

E. B. P.

I cannot write on the subject of your letter, nor would you wish me. Thank Mrs. B[owden] for wishing me to hear, as would least pain me. C. Marriott's love.

But the prolonged strain had been too much for Pusey.

A fortnight later he was dangerously ill. He wrote a short note in pencil from his sick bed to ask for Newman's prayers.

Tenby, July 30, 1846.

MY DEAREST N.

I am very seriously ill, although not as yet mortally. A low fever has settled in a weak part, the membranes of the chest: it seems to increase and my strength to diminish. The physician does not think it will end fatally. You will pray earnestly that God will have mercy upon my body and soul, and spare a sinner, and give him true repentance.

Ever yours very affectionately,

E. B. P.

Pusey rapidly became too ill to write or read letters. Newman wrote for a further account, and, getting no answer, he fancied that Pusey must be in greater danger than was really the case, and set off for Tenby to see him once more. Pusey had rallied somewhat, but the interview caused a relapse. A few days later Philip wrote to Newman:—

'My father wishes me to tell you that the object of your prayers has not yet been granted, for although the physician says he is better, yet this is the day in which there has been most fever and weakness.'

Happily it was not long before Pusey entirely recovered. But after this there was no intercourse between the friends for seven years. Their mutual affection underwent no change; but such a silence was probably necessary if they were to understand the permanence of their new and altered relations to each other. Gradually Pusey abandoned the hope which had for a moment flitted before his mind that Newman might some day return to his old place in the English Church; and Newman learnt that Pusey was not, and never really had been, likely to take the step which he himself had taken. From time to time his later letters may have expressed hopes which may be right and charitable in a sincere Roman Catholic, but his deliberate judgment is given in the 'Apologia.' He tells us that when he became a Roman Catholic he was often asked, 'What of Dr. Pusey?' and he adds, 'When I said that I did not see symptoms of his doing as I had done, I was

sometimes thought uncharitable¹. It would seem that, as time passed, Newman had gradually perceived that the language and the hesitations on Pusey's part, which he had in 1845-6 interpreted as meaning approximation to the Church of Rome, were really due to an intense affection for himself, and that Pusey's convictions respecting his own duty had undergone no change whatever since the days of their early friendship. Thus in the same passage he says :—

' People are apt to say that he [Pusey] was once nearer to the Catholic Church than he is now ; I pray God that he may be one day far nearer to the Catholic Church than he was then ; for I believe that, in his reason and judgment, all the time that I knew him, he never was near to it at all².'

This seems an appropriate point at which to pause in the account of Pusey's life. The events recorded in this last chapter have in a special way displayed his strength and character under very trying circumstances, and given opportunities for a fair estimate of his true position as a faithful son of the Church of England. In the whole project of St. Saviour's, its building, its consecration, and all the attendant circumstances and controversies, the following aspects of Pusey's work, character, and position are specially illustrated. First, the history shows the quiet way in which, wisely and boldly, as well as with self-effacing liberality, he hoped to build up and extend the Church by strengthening her hold over the masses of population in the great cities. Again, it illustrates that persistent temper of mind (with occasional fluctuations of despondency, it is true) which enabled him to persevere under the specially depressing and annoying opposition that met him, and the exaggerated suspicions characteristic of the time. But, further, it shows the method by which he determined to assert and defend the true principles and claims of the Church of England. He as much as any one realized and deplored the danger that resulted from the secession of Newman ; but he was not to be led aside into indiscreet violence and denunciation with a view of defending himself and others against the

¹ ' Apologia,' p. 138.

² Ibid.

general charge of Romanizing. He contented himself with a calm and restrained appeal to the ancient and primitive teaching of the Church, and with the evidences of life and practice as a natural outcome of that teaching. In dark days, when hearts were failing, and friends were straying away from the fold of the English Church, and beckoning him to follow; whilst a vast mass of obloquy and misunderstanding, taking every shape that could wound a sensitive and affectionate nature, fiercely bade him begone, he had to defend himself more than once against the double assault; to show that in his loyalty to Christian Antiquity, he had only taken the Church of England at her word; to show that she offered all the blessings, whilst she was free from great drawbacks that are to be found elsewhere; but also to show that in resolutely making the most of all the positive truth that she directly or implicitly sanctions, lies the best safeguard in the long run against disloyalty to her claims. This method—suspected by some, scoffed at by others, and utterly contrary to the whole tide of popular prejudice—may truly be said to have been justified in the sequel. Every one acknowledged that a critical moment in the Revival had come. That Revival was no longer a movement in Oxford—it had begun widely to affect the whole Anglican Communion. And it was at this critical moment that Pusey's power was shown. He had learnt, from Keble and through Newman, the strength and claims of the Anglican position, and in faith and hope was ready to defend it with his own method and with true weapons. Thus, in spite of everything adverse, he was able to rally round him the more devoted of the younger clergy and to point them to a higher and a brighter future.

It was in a very true sense, then, wider and deeper than even Pusey himself understood, that 'an atmosphere of blessing' hung around the consecration of St. Saviour's. It was God's blessing on Pusey's faith and devotion—it was His benediction on the renewed life of His Church in England.

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